

Dark roots: blonde
ambition for
Donna Rice and
Diane Sawyer

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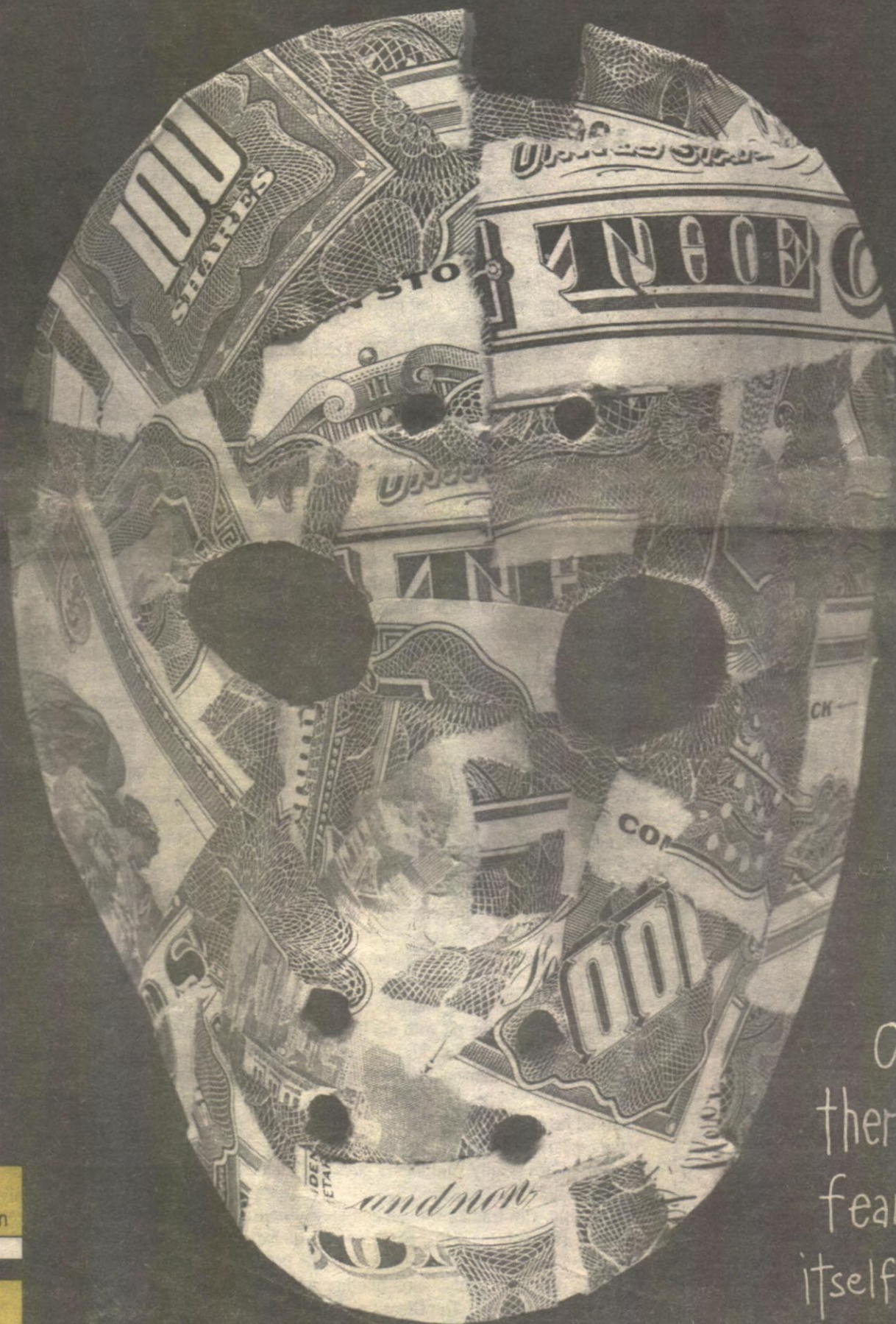
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MONDAY THE 19TH

PART I



On Wall Street
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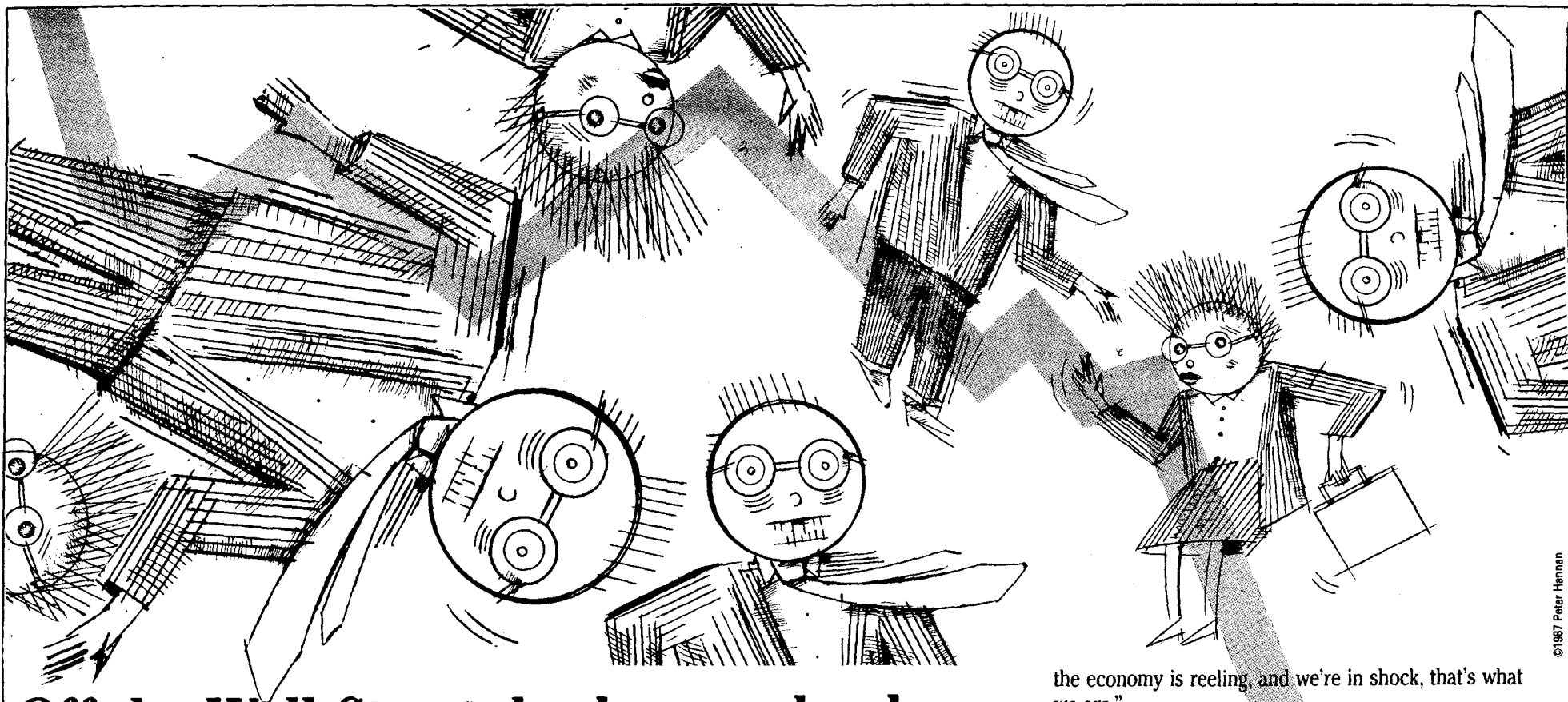
Covert reaction:

Apathy and Angola

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Off the Wall Street: brokers go bonkers

By Michael Powell

NEW YORK

It took a strange sort of person to watch millions of dollars evaporate before his or her eyes last week, to watch computer boards spin out thousands of gloomy green digits in the New York Stock Exchange hall and still come back for more. Arbitrage worker Larry Rodano is one of those people. As he stepped out of the Exchange onto Broad Street Tuesday at 4 p.m. he drew a deep breath and lit his first cigarette of the day. "I've worked that pit for 20 damn years," he said, running thick hands through black hair. "And these two days have been the

But in a week of historic losses and gains, the talk on The Street would warm a Marxist's heart, redolent as it was of economic apocalypse and recrimination. Even the moves of October 20, when the Federal Reserve essentially opened its coffers to spur a Wall Street rally, were viewed as a Faustian bargain that probably caused more long-term damage to the economy.

There were also some brokers' boastful claims that they had seen it coming and, perhaps more surprising, there was a widespread and matter-of-fact acceptance of the crash.

Newton's law: Leo West, a young, blond securities analyst, paused at the mouth of a subway station. A wan smile seemed plastered to his face. "What goes up, goes down," he said. "We all knew we were playing a strange game the last few years. This was inevitable."

West was convinced that the economy would not soon rebound, that stock rallies notwithstanding, this was the start of a long recession. As for his own career, well, he was running home to Texas and the safety of hard commodities, real estate and gold.

"I bought these today for my niece and nephew," he said, flashing two gold NYSE pendants out of his briefcase. "I'm not one for mementos but you'll never see another day like this."

"It was terror out there."

Such talk annoyed old-timers like Rodano. He didn't deny the essential lunacy of the Exchange floor—the headline on the tabloid *New York Post* seemed understated: "Wall Street Goes Mad!"—but the talk of runaway emotions bugged him. Staying cool was the key, he said.

Rodano watched with ill-concealed disdain the performance of younger stock brokers. All their professional life, he said, these Yuppies had known nothing but bull markets. The bear had them spooked.

"You have all these young sharpshooters—they don't know what it's like in the pit with the bear," Rodano said. "Me," he said, pointing at his chest, "I've been down there 20 years with a four-hour commute every day and I've never dropped."

What did he mean, "drop"?

"Have a heart attack and die on the floor," he replied with a shrug. "It's deadly. And lots of guys don't mind going that way."

Perhaps. But with trading volume and losses breaking all bounds, it must be said that panic reigned on October 19. Forgotten were the bland assurances of the previous week, when one stock analyst after another spoke of "adjustments in the market." The Great Crash of '29 was the product of another age, they insisted.

Burst bubble: "It's over, dead, gone," pronounced Mike O'Hara, a husky financial analyst with more than a decade on The Street. "Five hundred and eight points ain't no adjustment and this isn't any game. The bubble is burst,

the economy is reeling, and we're in shock, that's what we are."

Looking to the next few weeks, O'Hara predicted that even a rally wouldn't repair the damage done on Black Monday. He tallied the probable toll on The Street in several ways: layoffs would come in the next few weeks as firms assessed the damage; bonuses would come late or not at all; and, as a result, real-estate prices and the Christmas shopping season would be the slowest in years, he predicted.

"You'll hear the president and financial guys on television talking smooth tonight, but don't you believe it," O'Hara said. "That's just the usual nonsense they say to calm The Street."

Later in the week other financial analysts said much the same thing. On the Bergen Main express train from the financial district to upper-crust suburban Ridgewood, N.J., the pin-striped brokers were happily dazed. They had worked the Great Crash, kept away from the margin, retained their liquidity and maybe even their sanity.

But they were hardly optimistic. How would they suggest clients approach the market? Very carefully, they responded.

"I have such disdain for people who go on television and say, 'This is going to happen, that it's getting better,'" said Pat Alexander, a 13-year veteran of Banker's Trust. "I'm bothered enough by the parallels to 1929 that I would not want to make any predictions right now."

Why, he was asked, stay in so unstable a profession? Bright and in his mid-30s, Alexander could probably transfer to a more stable branch of the financial community without too much trouble. He explained that the attraction of the Exchange as opposed to banking, say, is like the difference between golf and tennis. In golf, you hit the ball and wait. Boring. In tennis, you hit the ball and it comes right back in your face, time after time after time.

"You don't have time to think about it," he said. "You just do something and get a result."

That same taste for white-collar gambling led to some strange scenes on The Street last week. But none was more bizarre than the sight of Mark Rex, a young man in pin-stripes, leaning against the facade of the NYSE. Young and ambitious, Rex has studied stock-brokering for a year and he had his first brokerage house interview the day of the crash.

"It's a little weird walking out of the interview and watching everyone scream about the biggest drop ever," he acknowledged. "Some of my friends asked me, 'Hey, what're you doing? You crazy?'"

But Rex is not easily discouraged. He wasn't going to let a stock-market crash scare him off. In fact, he displayed the egocentric and predatory lust that is so much a part of Wall Street's strength and weakness.

"I figure this will wipe out those guys who didn't really want to be here," he said shrugging. "Their loss, my gain. That's the game."

Michael Powell is a reporter for *The Record* of Hackensack, N.J.

IN SIDE STORY

roughest numbers I remember."

The Great Crash of 1987 sent unexpected chills through the runners, tabulators and corporate gunslingers who work the floor of the cavernous exchange. For nearly a decade Wall Street had enjoyed a macho currency and its leaders were the new geniuses, the million-dollar babies.

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By David Moberg

THE CRASH OF '87 IS A REMINDER THAT FOR all its vaunted rationality, capitalism is an economic system driven by greed and fear. The more rarified the atmosphere, the farther from the gritty reality of making or doing useful things, the more such passions rule in untempered fashion. One stock trader frankly admitted that the crash "has nothing to do with anybody's rational business decision."

The stock market is regularly gauged as bullish or bearish and is subject to jitters, euphorias and panics. It may be a comment on the times that now even emotions are mechanized: many people stood by and marveled as computer-programmed trading panicked on their behalf, exacerbating an already steep slide.

In a peculiar way markets, especially financial markets, are also referenda. It's one-dollar one-vote, so the purse rules at the polls. These votes can influence or even override votes cast by the electorate or its representatives, immensely compromising democracy as wealth and its power becomes more concentrated.

Increasingly the votes are cast worldwide. Yet that worries even normal devotees of marketplace rule: one lesson of the crash, and one of its causes, is that nobody is in control of the worldwide economy—as the U.S. was for a quarter century after World War II, and Britain was before World War I. And the U.S. is not even in control of its own economy. Finally, although maybe for the wrong reasons, the monied were casting a vote of no-confidence in bull-market hero Ronald Reagan, whose Pollyanna-ish faith in a capitalist future and long-time gifts to the rich long diverted them from the underlying condition of the U.S. and world economy.

Doing his best impression of Herbert Hoover, Reagan insisted last week that the economy was fundamentally sound. Indeed, inflation is moderate, unemployment the lowest since he took office, corporate profits up, sales and housing starts still fairly healthy and overall growth steady if sluggish. Many of the blue-chip companies that took such a drubbing on "meltdown Monday" were previously reporting strong earnings and could claim that in recent years they had "restructured" themselves by trimming operations or increasing efficiency.

Was the panic unjustified? Did investors really have nothing to fear but fear itself?

Reason to be worried: The crash was "a signal that there's a serious weakness in the prosperity, that it's somewhat false," says Washington University economics professor Hyman Minsky, author of *Stabilizing an Unstable Economy*.

The importance of the stock market can be overstated. Aside from its relatively small but significant function in selling new equity holding in business, it is mainly a giant casino where gamblers rack up paper profits. They hope to convert them to something more real before they lose them, but usually cannot resist the lure of staying in the game to make even more.

Last week's loss of hundreds of billions of dollars will depress some upper-class spending, shrink some pension funds, chasten a few speculators and reduce the ability of some individuals and firms to borrow. But this economic contraction will likely prove less serious than the psychological chill: cor-



New Wall Street worries reflect Main Street malaise

porations, investors and consumers may all be more cautious, thus slowing the economy and raising chances of recession.

The boom in stocks since 1982, which has been even greater in most other capitalist countries than in the U.S., has been fueled by several factors: tax cuts for the rich, confidence in a pro-business president, huge fortunes made in takeover bids, the vast pool of Japanese capital looking for a home, the submission of organized labor, a long if uneven economic recovery and resurgence of corporate profits while gains from interest-bearing investments declined.

But the boom was built on weak foundations: massive federal budget deficits at the

peak of the business cycle, enormous corporate and consumer debt, the unpaid and unpayable Third World debt, and the growing U.S. balance of payments deficit that has transformed the U.S. in a few years from the world's largest creditor to the world's largest debtor nation.

And the boom was uneven in dangerous ways. It increased inequality in both income and wealth, threatening the economy's base. Also until recently it occurred mainly outside of manufacturing, which remains key to the country's ability to repay its debts.

The real dilemma: The problem is not debt itself, as much as it is the character of that debt. In the rush to provide explanations

for the crash, everyone has mounted his favorite hobbyhorse—right-wing columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak even blamed Reagan's failure to win Robert Bork's Supreme Court nomination—and the favorite steed was the cry for federal deficit reduction. Yet Wharton School professor of finance Edward Herman notes that business people on the whole "haven't minded Reagan's deficits so much, given dimensions of the deficit. The reason is [the administration] is doing what they want with the deficit—cutting benefits and spending on arms. The deficit, if generated by Democrats enhancing social welfare, would drive them to insanity."

If the federal government had been spending its deficit on new railroads, photovoltaics, education, research and basic infrastructure that investment would eventually pay back many times over. Instead it has gone for military spending that made the U.S. competitive in arms and aerospace but probably undermined overall productivity. If the corporations had invested in new plants and equipment instead of takeover bids and defenses, its debt would have been productive, not a burden.

"If the money we were borrowing from abroad all went into factories and robots," MIT professor Lester Thurow argued recently, "we wouldn't have to worry because the debt would be self-liquidating."

Perhaps the most critical indicator is the balance of trade. Despite a trade-weighted drop of 36 percent in the dollar since its February 1985 peak, the balance of payments deficit remains stubbornly high, and exports have increased only slightly.

Very sudden denial: "The hope of liberal optimists and maybe even conservatives is that the exchange rate would gradually decline and the budget deficit would be rectified, and the gaps [such as trade] would be closed slowly," Herman says. "But all of those things were denied in the last month."

The problem with the devaluation strategy in part was "the structure of U.S. industry," Minsky says. Many corporations, like the auto companies, increased prices and profits rather than market share, at the same time restraining wages.

Partly because the U.S. balance of payments had not improved as expected, there were growing worries that the U.S. would have to devalue the dollar further, despite the Louvre accord earlier this year among seven major capitalist countries to stabilize the dollar. Foreign capital flows into the U.S. had been slowing down recently, putting pressure upward on interest rates to attract investment despite foreigners' fears that their dollars would be worth less in the near future. That first hurt the bond market and led to stock drops that were big but not of crash proportions.

Then Germany raised interest rates, even though it has very slow growth, high unemployment and a huge trade surplus. In a Keynesian world order, Germany should stimulate its economy and lower rates, but German conservatives dread inflation. Japan, already worried that the strong yen is eroding its export road to prosperity, also resists becoming a motor of expanding world demand. Just before the crash an angry Treasury Secretary James Baker hinted that the dollar might have to decline (then re-

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Joel Bleifuss

Tottering toward Armageddon

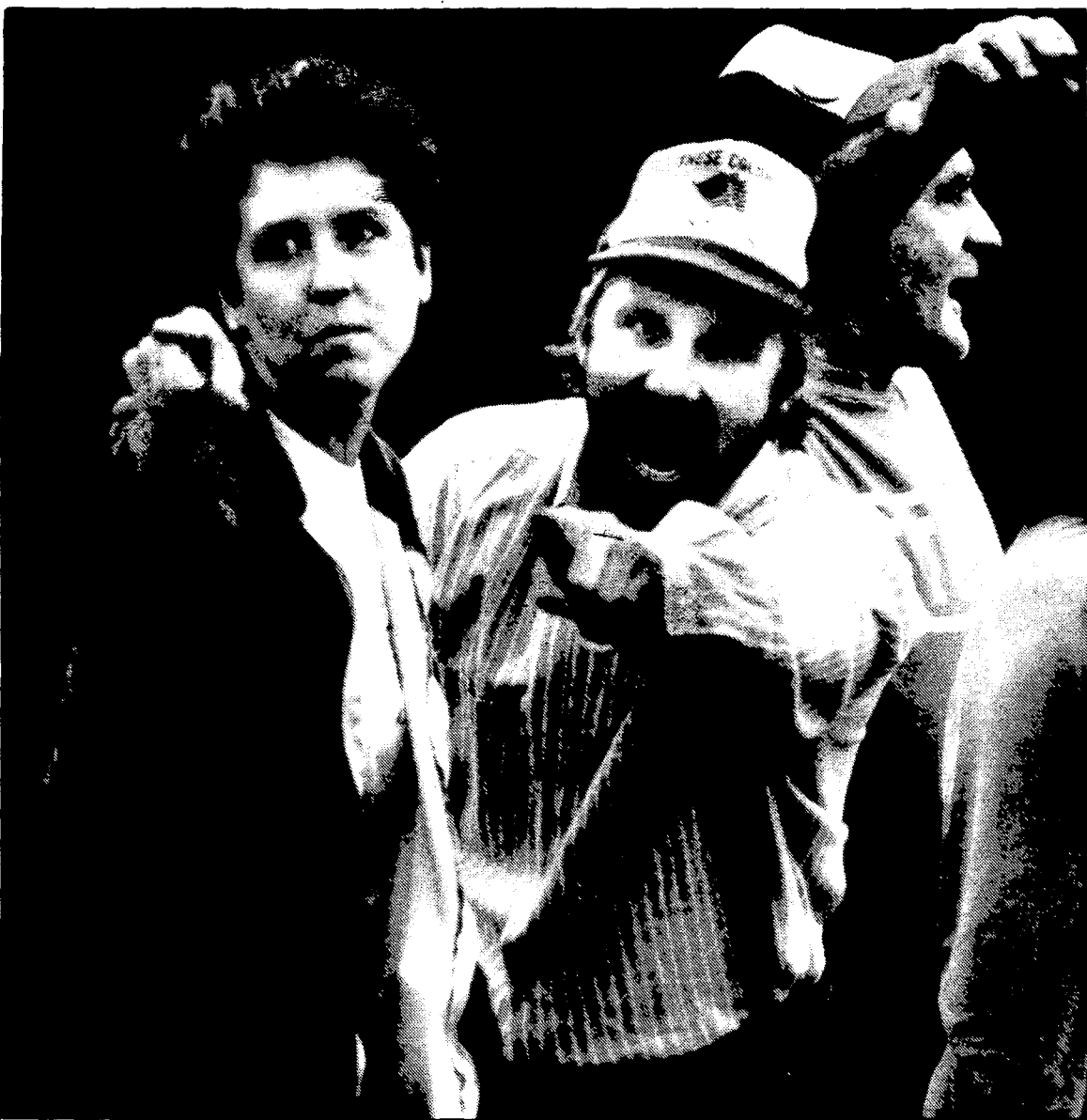
The religious right holds to some mighty scary ideas. In 1971, James Mills, president pro-tem of the California senate, had an unnerving discussion over dinner with a man about religion and politics. Afterward, Mills, disturbed by what he had heard, made notes. In August 1985 he published those recollections in *San Diego Magazine*. According to Mills, his dinner companion "with firelit intensity," said: "In the 38th chapter of Ezekiel, it says that the land of Israel will come under attack by the armies of the ungodly nations, and it says that Libya will be among them. Do you understand the significance of that? Libya has gone communist, and that's a sign that the day of Armageddon isn't far off.... All the other prophecies that had to be fulfilled before Armageddon have come to pass. In the 38th chapter of Ezekiel it says God will take the children of Israel from among the heathen, where they'd been scattered, and will gather them again in the promised land. That has finally come about after 2,000 years." To this Mills replied: "What you say is true enough, but it doesn't mean anything is necessarily going to happen soon. The one thing the Bible says most clearly about the Second Coming, is that no one can know when it will happen." But the man, getting excited, said: "Everything is falling into place. It can't be long now. Ezekiel says that fire and brimstone will be rained upon the enemies of God's people. That must mean that they'll be destroyed by nuclear weapons.... Ezekiel tells us that Gog—that nation that will lead all the other powers of darkness against Israel—will come out of the north. Biblical scholars have been saying for generations that Gog must be Russia...but it didn't make sense before the Russian Revolution, when Russia was a Christian country. Now it does, now that Russia has become communistic and atheistic, now that Russia has set itself against God. Now it fits the description of Gog perfectly." This apocalyptic argument was borrowed directly from Hal Lindsey's book, *The Late, Great Planet Earth*. According to the *New York Times*, between 1970 and 1980 the book was the best-selling work of non-fiction in the U.S. The man Mills was having dinner with was then Governor Ronald Reagan.

Momentary madness

Is the president's interest in apocalypse a temporary aberration or a permanent condition? It seems the latter. The latest issue of *CALC Report*, the journal of Clergy and Laity Concerned, examines the tenets of Armageddon theology and statements from a powerful proponent, Ronald Reagan. The Christic Institute's Andrew Lang writes: "I think that the record of the president's preoccupation about Armageddon should be read as a warning, at least, that the right-wing vision of apocalyptic struggle against Soviet power has deep roots in the president's personality. We must face the possibility that the commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the U.S. is one of millions of Americans who read the Bible as their source book for predictions of global conflicts." Lang gives several other examples of presidential end-of-the-world musings. In a 1980 appearance on Jim and Tammy Bakker's *PTL Club*, Reagan said, "We may be the generation that sees Armageddon." Also that year in a *People* magazine interview, the president, characterizing Armageddon as "the end of the world," said, "Theologians have been studying the ancient prophecies, what would portend the coming of Armageddon and have said that never, in the time between the prophecies up until now, has there ever been a time in which so many of the prophecies are coming together. There have been times in the past, when people thought the end of the world was coming and so forth, but never anything like this."

Self-fulfilling prophecy?

Following the 1984 election, the man who gave Ronald Reagan a copy of *The Late, Great Planet Earth*, Herb Ellingwood, told a reporter that he could not be interviewed on the subject of Armageddon because he had heard from the White House that this was not to be discussed. The apparent blackout on end-of-the-world talk closely followed the president's last public pronouncement on the subject. On Oct. 21, 1984, during Reagan's presidential debate with Walter Mondale, TV newsman Marvin Kalb asked Reagan, "Do you feel that we are heading perhaps for some kind of nuclear Armageddon?" (At that point, according to *Time* magazine, a reporter sitting near Nancy Reagan heard her gasp, "Oh, no.") Reagan answered, "No one knows whether those prophecies mean that Armageddon is a thousand years away or the



Scab! Striking International Paper Co. workers in Jay, Maine, show their emotions as strikebreakers arrive at the mill gates.

Papermakers and strikebreakers

JAY, MAINE—Since the turn of the century this small town in south-central Maine has been home to one of International Paper Company's 26 papermills. Jay is the kind of town where pulp trucks and lumber trains trundle along the quiet main streets, where the smell of sulfur and cooking pulp wafts through the air and where the people take pride in their papermaking heritage. The largest employer in town is International Paper's Androscoggin Mill. Generations of Jay families have worked there, built bonds with the mill and, up until last June, considered International Paper Company—the biggest paper company in the world—part of their extended family.

Last June, when International Paper refused to extend workers' contracts, Jay residents started to view the company less like a cousin and more like a greedy corporation. International Paper, which made a record \$305 million profit last year and whose stocks reached all-time highs, asked its Jay workers to make concessions in their contracts. The company wanted to cut back on jobs, eliminate double time on Sundays and have workers come in on Christmas to keep the mill running 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. The 1,270 papermakers, who felt overworked and understaffed as it was, decided to strike for the old contract they had fought for, and enjoyed, over the past few years.

When the company responded by hiring professional strike-breakers from Alabama and replacement workers from other parts of Maine, violence broke out on the picket lines. State police were sent in. Houses were firebombed, though not by strikers, according to investigators. International Paper ran an extensive TV campaign aimed at showing the strikers as greedy labor aristocrats pitted against the average, impoverished Mainer. The long relationship between the company and Jay had turned sour.

"We built this town and that mill," explains Barbara Bernard, whose son works in the mill and whose husband worked there for 44 years. "We're not going to let them dictate us around. They're from out of state—from New York, besides."

The strike in Jay, now in its fifth month, is part of a larger, nationwide strike against the company. Nearly 3,500 paperworkers—from four mills in Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Alabama and Jay—struck after International Paper refused to extend contracts. Papermakers at a company mill in Oregon are considering joining the strike. The corporation claims its workers must make concessions to offset the effect of foreign competition. The papermakers feel they shouldn't have to bear the burden for the company's mismanagement.

International Paper's actions fit a general industry pattern of union-busting, declining workers' benefits and high company profits. Over the

past two years, nearly 1,000 striking union paperworkers in Maine and New Hampshire have lost their jobs to replacement workers. Maine Gov. George McKernan, meanwhile, has vetoed legislation that would make it illegal for companies to hire professional strikebreakers.

Last year in Rumford, Maine, 1,200 paperworkers struck the Boise Cascade mill over a contract dispute. Eleven weeks later, after Boise hired replacement workers, the union gave in to company demands.

Strikers in Jay believe they are taking the last stand against the large paper companies and fighting for the security of all paperworkers. "If the union is broken here," striker Dennis Gosallin says, "you might as well just forget the whole paper industry."

As in any local strike, the Jay papermakers' anger has been deflected from the company onto the strikebreakers. Every evening in Jay thousands of people line up along the access road to the plant and scream at the strikebreakers. It has become a daily ritual for the community.

As the strike enters its sixth month, the protests are getting desperate and explosive.

The outlook for the town of Jay and its papermakers is bleak. "Things die hard in Maine," says Town Manager Charles Noonan. "If things remain as they are it will be many years, many generations, before things get back to the way they were in Jay."

—Brad Kessler

Ex-contra convert counteracts neo-con con job

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Authors David Horowitz and Peter Collier extracted \$450,000 from right-wing foundations to stage a conference about their conversions from left-wing opponents of the Vietnam War to ardent Reaganites. The highlight of the Second Thoughts Conference, held in mid-October at Washington's Hyatt Regency Hotel, was to be a sit-down dinner at which neo-conservative movement elders Irving Kristol, Norman Podhoretz, William Phillips and Hilton Kramer bestowed grace upon the converts from the '60s. But the script went awry when panelist Bruce Cameron expressed his "third thoughts" on the contras and the Reagan administration.

Cameron, a University of Michigan grad, had worked for Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda's Indochina Peace Campaign. He then went to Washington as a human-rights lobbyist for Americans for Democratic Action. But in 1985 he became a contra supporter. Cameron, disillusioned with the Sandinistas, was convinced by contra leaders Arturo Cruz and Alfonso Robelo and by Lt. Col. Oliver North that the rebels could be part of a negotiated and

democratic solution in Nicaragua. Cameron worked closely with North to win contra funding from Congress.

But he became disillusioned by both the Iran-contra scandal and Cruz' resignation from the contra directorate. At an afternoon panel on "revolutionary chic" that was intended to lambaste the left for its opposition to the contras, Cameron wreaked havoc. "I now believe that I was fundamentally in error both in my assessment of the contras and of the Reagan administration," Cameron told several hundred people at the Hyatt Regency. "We were guilty of the error of voluntarism. We believed that by sheer force of political will we could overcome recalcitrant realities. We believed that if we called a movement freedom fighters they would be them, and they would win."

Cameron rejected the theory of democratic counterrevolution propagated by Robert Leiken and by neo-conservatives in the National Endowment for Democracy. "I have grave doubts that there can be a genuinely democratic counterrevolution," Cameron said. "And I have grave doubts that we could sustain it. We do not have the culture in the CIA to animate a democratic movement."

Cameron endorsed the Central American peace plan as a means

of preventing Sandinista interference in its neighbor's affairs and of providing a political opening in Nicaragua. "What goals are achievable by continued military pressure are achievable now by the Guatemala City accords," he said.

Cameron's remarks were greeted by loud boos. During the question-and-answer period, he was vilified. One contra supporter ripped Cameron for his current job as a lobbyist for the leftist Mozambican government. Contra leader Javier Arguello attributed Cameron's change of heart to cowardice. "We all know how hard it is to be a contra," he said. "You need guts to be a contra because it is so unfashionable. I know why Bruce couldn't take it any more."

David Horowitz, former acolyte to Black Panther leader Huey Newton, reminded the audience that Cameron, working with Hayden and Fonda, had "pulled the plug on the people of Vietnam."

But Cameron had won the day. "I think he is going to get all the press attention," lamented Accuracy in Media Chairman Reed Irvine. He was right. Both the *Washington Post* and the *Washington Times* devoted more space to Cameron than to the attempts by Horowitz, Collier and the other contra enthusiasts to clothe themselves in a new political identity.

—John Judis

Dying with dollars: how your taxes help the contras

Witness For Peace (WFP) is a non-denominational religious group of Americans living in Nicaragua that investigates and documents murder, abduction, torture and destruction committed by the U.S.-backed contras. The group's latest report, "Civilian Victims of the Contra War," shows the bloody ways in which contras used the \$100 million in congressional aid.

The report, which covers February to July 1987, describes ambushes, attacks, assassinations, landmine explosions and abductions which claimed more than 350 victims, many of them children. The reported cases, however, are probably only a fraction of the actual contra atrocities, since WFP covered only cases that it could substantiate quickly and accurately.

Using the U.S. State Department's definition of "terrorism"—"premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets," the WFP report details 14 attacks on rural communities and cooperatives that left 84 people dead or wounded. It also documents 12 contra ambushes of civilian vehicles that killed or wounded 39 people, as well as nine assassinations and more than 200 kidnappings.

For example, in a contra attack on La Esperanza in Zelaya province, "one contra soldier found Isadora Solano Marin, 55, hiding in a trench,

unarmed, with her five-month-old granddaughter.... The contra pulled the child from Isadora's arms, then shot the grandmother once in the forehead."

When unarmed cooperatives were targets, destruction of the schools, warehouses, farm animals, crops and food often accompanied the attacks. Consequently, as an Americas Watch report explained, farmers are "left with the harsh choice of being killed in an illegitimate attack or legitimizing it by arming themselves." Most victims of the at-

tacks were also survivors of previous contra terror; all co-ops attacked were "home to people already displaced by the war," according to the WFP report.

Political leaders, social service personnel and young men who completed military service are constant targets. Summary executions of ambushed civilians, especially those associated with the government, are not uncommon. Such ambushes occur in every region where the contras operate.

On July 3 a land mine exploded under a vehicle that Salvadoran Franciscan Brother Tomas Zavaleta was riding in, killing him and seriously wounded a parish priest and another passenger. Such mining of roads continues to claim civilian lives. The U.S. Embassy says the CIA no longer supplies contras with mines. But evidence—including photos by Reuters showing contras unpacking and planting mines—suggests the contras are behind the minings.

The report further says that "a well-documented pattern of contra mutilation of bodies and torture of selected victims" persists, especially in eastern Matagalpa province. The incidents range from outright torture—like slashing the breasts and thighs of one woman during interrogation—to expressions of "a random violence akin to sadism." One man, after being forced to carry wounded contras following an attack on the Matagalpa town of La Reforma, was found dead, his body "horribly mutilated."

—Anthony St. John

Contra victims: A mother and child get embalmed after being killed in a July contra attack on a village in Matagalpa.



Tom London

day after tomorrow. So I have never seriously warned and said we must plan for Armageddon." Andrew Lang, whose book *The Politics of Armageddon* will come out in 1988, told *In These Times* that the assembled evidence is "compelling" that Reagan, although not willing to fix a date, believes the destruction of the Soviet Union is inevitable. "Reagan has talked consistently about Armageddon, using the same arguments, from about 1967 to 1984," said Lang. "The buildup of nuclear arms early in the administration was designed to 'prevail' in a nuclear war. At the same time administration personalities were talking recklessly about the survivability of nuclear war. Since then those administration officials have been silent and the word 'prevail' has been dropped, but the weapons systems and the strategies remain the same." As for the soon-to-be-signed Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty with the Soviet Union, Lang said such a treaty is "politically necessary for Reagan if he is to persuade Congress to continue funding Star Wars."

Ready and waiting

For those wishing a respite from all this gloom and boom, the October *Esquire* offers no relief. Martin Amis' haunting essay "Nuke City—Wake up, America, to another sunny doomsday in Washington, District of Catastrophe" is a narrative journey around Washington's nuclear establishment. At one stop Amis has a "nuke chat" with William Arkin, the nuclear issues expert at Washington's left think-tank, the Institute for Policy Studies. Amis wrote of his conversation with Arkin: "There is a kind of nuke chat that sounds like masochism—amused, collusive, cheerfully scandalized. You talk about government policies as if you were talking about your children, their pointless delinquencies, their cute inanities (You know what they did? Have you heard what they're doing now?). For a while Arkin and I did this kind of nuke chat. He told me about the \$6,000 nuclear-hardened coffeepot.... Then his manner changed, and I sensed what I was to sense many times in Washington: a desire to escape complexity, to escape detail and the proliferation of detail, a desire to change the language, to edge back toward first principles. [Arkin said.] 'What you have to understand, what you have to make clear, is that the nuclear arsenal is a living organism, constantly adjusted, refined, altered, programmed, mobilized. Under Reagan we have shifted from prevention to preparation. They're not interested in World War III. They're interested in World War IV. The nuclear war plan spans 180 days. It's a confession of inevitability—it can't not happen—though it's so fucking complicated that they can't even see it.... Nuclear war is not just an idea. The whole planet is wired up for it.'"

Baa...baaa...baaaa

Three days after 500,000 people marched for lesbian and gay rights in Washington, the Senate approved an amendment to an appropriations bill that would ban the use of federal funds for AIDS education projects that "promote or encourage, directly or indirectly, homosexual sexual activity." The amendment was sponsored by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC). When arguing his case before the Senate, Helms pulled out a safe-sex comic book produced by New York City's Gay Men's Health Crisis. "I will not consume the Senate's time reading the details of this revolting project," he said. "But, Mr. President, you know those little bags they have on airlines when it gets bumpy, if I were to read the sickening details to you—you would need one. We have got to call a spade a spade and a perverted human being a perverted human being—not in anger, but in realism." Helms then went on to say that "every AIDS case can be traced back to a homosexual act." In the end, 94 sheep in the Senate agreed with Helms. Only two senators voted against the amendment, Sen. Lowell Weicker (R-CT) and Sen. Daniel Moynihan (D-NY).

Not-so-green Switzerland

The landslide of the Green parties that had been predicted in Switzerland did not materialize in last week's national election (*In These Times*, June 24). Swiss journalist Reto Pieth reports that the country's two Green parties, one moderate and the other left, did pick up eight seats in the Swiss house of representatives, giving them a total of 16. But the Social Democrats lost seven seats, so the balance of power still rests with the 118 representatives of the "bourgeois block," the three right-of-center parties. The elections did see a new group make its debut on the Swiss political scene. Created by car owners intent on counteracting the Greens' anti-car policies, the Auto Party elected its first representative.

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

IN THE CURRENT PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY SYSTEM, how a candidate appears on television is more important than his grasp of the issues or the competence he has displayed as a public official. A case in point is the presidential candidacy of former Arizona Gov. Bruce Babbitt. He was an outstanding governor, and as a presidential candidate he is offering genuinely "new ideas."

But Babbitt is a disaster on television—he comes across as WKRP's earnest but dull newsman, Les Nessman—and he therefore stands little chance of attracting public notice. He will probably be the next candidate to drop out of the race.

David Osborne, author of *The Next Agenda*, a forthcoming study of the nation's governors, draws a stark contrast between Babbitt and Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis, presently a favorite to win the Democratic nomination. "Babbitt is the smart one who has got the substantive policy proposals and has had the courage to come out with some controversial positions dealing with the deficit and who really understands the need to fundamentally restructure the international economy," Osborne says. "Dukakis is the one who has headlines and media image and the money and the favorable press coverage. It is a sad commentary on the American political system."

Changing Arizona: Like Gary Hart, Joe Biden and Dukakis, Babbitt is a Kennedy-generation liberal who acquired his political convictions during the early '60s. The scion of a wealthy northern Arizona family, Babbitt went to Notre Dame and after graduation studied geology on a Marshall grant in England. Struck by the poverty he witnessed while doing field work in Bolivia in 1962, he abandoned geology and entered Harvard Law School. After he graduated he joined a War on Poverty program in Austin, Texas. In 1967 Babbitt went to Washington to work for VISTA.

But he decided to return to Phoenix after only a year in Washington. He set up a successful law practice, became active in Arizona's small Democratic Party and in 1974 successfully ran for attorney general. In that office Babbitt gained renown for prosecuting the mob killers of *Arizona Republic* newsman, Don Bolles. (During this time Babbitt's name was discovered on a Mafia "hit list.") He planned to run for Senate in 1980, but in 1977 Gov. Raul Castro resigned to become ambassador to Argentina, and the secretary of state who succeeded him died, leaving Babbitt governor. That November he was elected governor with 52 percent of the vote.

Babbitt faced formidable obstacles as governor. Arizona was—and remains—one of the most Republican and conservative states in the nation. It has voted Republican in every presidential election since 1952. In 1965 it was the only state not to participate in the Medicaid program. Arizonans reject any intrusion of government into private affairs, whether to help the poor or to regulate business. Before Babbitt, Arizona's governor was a figurehead who presided at ceremonies but played little role in formulating legislation. The state legislature overshadowed the governor, and its chief officers were the state's main public officials.

But in two terms (Babbitt was re-elected with 62 percent of the vote in 1982) he created a new model of an activist governor and gov-



Bruce Babbitt's anonymity is "a sad comment" on U.S. politics, says one observer.

POLITICS

Meet Bruce Babbitt of Arizona, the Democrats' invisible man

ernment. In his first full year of dealing with the legislature, Babbitt vetoed 21 bills, more than most of his predecessors had vetoed during their entire terms of office. He also made himself the key player in the all-important negotiations over ground-water rights.

Rainfall is infrequent in Arizona; indeed, much of the state is desert; and the state's farms, mines and cities had to exist off the water table that lay underneath the earth's surface. By the '70s, however, Arizonans were extracting twice as much water as was being replaced, causing huge cracks in the earth. Arizona's salvation was the \$2 billion Central Arizona Project built on the Colorado River and designed to ferry water to the state. But the federal government made funding for CAP contingent upon Arizona adopting

His creative ideas and solid record as Arizona governor qualify Babbitt for serious consideration. But he doesn't play well on TV.

legislation that would reduce the state's consumption of ground water.

On a special commission, representatives of Arizona's farmers, miners and city dwellers had been trying unsuccessfully to work out a bill since 1976. In marathon sessions during the summer of 1980, Babbitt forced through a water bill that committed Arizona to stringent five-year plans, overseen by a new Department of Water Resources. He also forced Arizona businesses and mines to

agree to a tough law regulating toxic wastes in water. Arizona went "from the state with the least environmental regulation to the state with the most," Osborne writes.

Babbitt also improved social services. He got the legislature to accept Medicaid funding, and when a private scheme of distribution set up by Republicans led to massive corruption, Babbitt stepped in and ran it out of the state government. When the legislature balked at spending funds for expanding day care—one of Babbitt's abiding concerns—he helped organize more than 100 non-profit groups to accomplish these ends. In New York or Massachusetts, these kinds of initiatives would have been taken for granted. But in Arizona they represented a radical reorientation of state politics.

Babbitt's most questionable act as governor was his calling in the National Guard in 1983 to permit scabs to enter the Phelps-Dodge copper mine. After the daughter of a miner who had crossed the United Steelworker picket line was shot by a sniper, Babbitt shut the mine for 10 days to permit negotiations. When the company and the union could not reach an agreement, and when strikers were threatening to storm the mine gates, Babbitt called in the National Guard. The strike was broken.

But in Arizona—one of the first states to pass right-to-work law prohibiting unions from requiring dues from new company employees—anti-union forces continued to view Babbitt as a labor ally because he had vetoed bills preventing public employees from striking and lowering workers' compensation. In 1984 the *Arizona Republic* criticized him for being "unflaggingly faithful to the interests of organized labor." And state labor leaders forgave Babbitt when two years

later he mediated a bitter dispute between Kennecott Copper and the United Steelworkers.

Workplace democracy: In his presidential campaign Babbitt has not tried to run on his record in Arizona, but instead on a platform that addresses the underlying weakness of the American economy. He has insisted that the deficit cannot be significantly reduced either by cutting military spending (Rev. Jesse Jackson and Sen. Paul Simon's answer) or by a combination of military spending cuts and vigorous tax collection, Dukakis' alternative. Babbitt is undoubtedly correct about this. Eliminating the MX, Midgetman and a few aircraft carriers will barely dent the present budget deficits.

Babbitt does endorse these measures, but he also wants to reduce government spending by imposing a means test on its expenditures, from Social Security to farm subsidies. This entails making the amount of Social Security an individual gets or subsidy a farm receives contingent upon income.

"I don't think we need to pay subsidies to corporate mega farms," Babbitt told the National Press Club in July. "I don't think we need grants to finance parking lots for big-city hotels. I don't think we need three new kinds of nuclear missiles all at once. And I don't think the Vanderbilts and the Mellons need exactly the same tax-free Social Security as a widow in a cold-water flat."

He also wants to increase revenues by imposing a progressive national sales tax from which necessities would be exempted. Such a tax would be fairer than the income tax, Babbitt argues, because the wealthy could not find ways to evade it.

His solution for industrial decline is what he calls the "democratic workplace." Babbitt wants to see profit-sharing, worker-management, the substitution of team work for assembly-line production. "We must turn away from hierarchical and highly centralized models of management and toward models that disperse decision-making power much more widely," he said at the National Press Club.

He has proposed making government loans and loan guarantees to corporations contingent upon a "restructuring which creates partial ownership, and partial control, by the company's employees." He also favors tax credits for worker education, a national voucher system for employee child care and legislation to prohibit executive "golden parachutes" except where a company is "prepared to offer equivalent multiples of salary to every departing employee."

But Babbitt's economic programs are not without serious flaws. He hasn't thought through a position on trade—he claims to be against Rep. Richard Gephardt's "protectionism," but he wants an international agreement that would prevent any country from running a trade surplus. Babbitt also does not appear to understand that if worker self-management is going to lead to increased productivity, it has to be tied to some kind of employment guarantee. But these programs are eminently worth discussing.

Also, Babbitt may not make as good a president as Dukakis or Gephardt. His role in Phelps-Dodge still rankles, and his inability to communicate on television could make it harder for him to govern. But Babbitt deserves far more serious consideration from voters than he is presently getting. □

By M. Floyd Hall

MEXICO CITY

IT IS NOW, IN THE WEEKS AFTER THE RULING INSTITUTIONAL Revolutionary Party (PRI) named its presidential nominee and interparty rivalries still linger, that Mexico's political system is at its weakest. Over the next few months, as the PRI once again builds support behind a new leader, only two strong factors ensure the country's stability: a time-honored tradition of political negotiation and, perhaps more importantly, faint signs of economic recovery.

The carefully choreographed announcement earlier this month that Budget Secretary Carlos Salinas de Gortari will be the PRI's next presidential candidate, thereby making him almost assured of victory in next year's staged elections, came as only a slight surprise to Mexican political observers. In the end, the two principal factors weighing against the 39-year-old Salinas, his age and the opposition of organized labor as well as most of the party's old guard, seemed to have mattered less than the awareness that he was the most likely of the six official contenders to carry on with President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado's economic program.

Yet whether Salinas will in fact continue the de la Madrid program, which includes reducing state control of the economy and allowing more foreign competition, is open to speculation. "To somewhat paraphrase Yogi Berra, 'It doesn't start until it begins,'" says Jorge G. Castañeda, a prominent political scientist at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). "We don't know."

The likelihood, however, is that Salinas, who has been closely associated with the current president since he was de la Madrid's student at UNAM, will continue with the president's hard-won economic reforms. In fact, Salinas is considered the principal architect of the current policy, with its stress on manipulating currency to encourage the sale of exports, selling off parastate companies and reducing tariff barriers. "You can say that perhaps he molded himself according to the image de la Madrid wanted, but that's quite improbable," says Lorenzo Meyer, another respected commentator and professor at the College of Mexico. "Could he have spent so many years hiding his true colors?"

Shaky precedents: Despite the fact that Salinas' positions appear to be clear-cut, the overall uncertainty of the process has begun to lead many Mexicans both inside and outside the party to question the legitimacy of the PRI's back-room politics. Salinas is the tenth candidate chosen since 1934 by the *dedazo*, or finger tap, in which the current president consults members of his inner circle and various political sectors and then names the next president in the guise of the party's nominee. Until recently this process went unquestioned. Under the system the PRI and its two forebears have ruled for more than 50 years with more or less the consent of the governed.

The first crack in the facade came in 1968 when on the eve of the Mexico City Olympics President Adolfo López Mateos sought to quell student unrest by unleashing the army and security forces on a relatively small gathering of protesters. The death toll from what is now known as the Tlatelolco Massacre has never been fully revealed, but estimates put the number at around 300. The PRI, which had based its legitimacy on the

Troubled times for the political system

fact that it had preserved social peace since the end of the 1910 Revolution, emerged seriously shaken by the event. López Mateos' successors, Luis Echeverría and José López Portillo, sought to re-establish the party's credibility in part by resorting to populist spending measures, funding them with loans against the country's future oil export earnings. Then in 1981, when oil prices suddenly fell, the PRI found itself confronting political and economic disaster. From 1970, when Echeverría took office, to 1982, when López Portillo left, Mexico's foreign debt rose from

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\$4 billion to nearly \$100 billion.

López Portillo left successor de la Madrid to face the crisis, but not before he managed one last economic blunder. In September 1981, just before de la Madrid's candidacy was announced, López Portillo sought to recapture his earlier popularity by nationalizing the country's banking system. As a result, nearly \$20 billion in private capital fled the country for U.S. banks.

Since then, de la Madrid has had to fight an uphill battle on two fronts, political and economic. Forced to resort to austerity measures to bring the economy back into line and meet foreign debt requirements, the government could only blink as oil prices plunged once again in 1986, causing gross domestic product to fall a staggering 3.7 percent for the year. Pointing out that things could have been much worse has done little to assuage public anger. With inflation now running at 130 percent for the year, Mexicans have watched their buying power fall by 40 percent in real terms over the past five years. They have inevitably come to view the political system as the root of their economic troubles.

Pressure for change: One of the government's crucial problems is expectations. Beginning in 1933 at the outset of the party's rule, the country's economy grew at what Mexicans like to refer to as a world record-setting rate of 6 percent a year. With growth has come increased income and in turn greater education. As industry developed and the country became more urban, a growing middle class led calls for increased democracy. Also, advances in medicine spurred population growth, until this year running at 3 percent per annum, thereby eating up much of the economic expansion. "Until recently the Mexican political system was more or less adapted to the country," says Porfirio Muñoz Ledo, a leader of the dissident PRI faction known as the Democratic Current. "But the political system did not advance at the same rate as the population."

Another problem for the system as it approaches the 1988 campaign is the perception that de la Madrid and Salinas are remote bureaucrats with little concern for the suffering wrought by the country's economic downturn. Calling the two leaders "technocrats," critics contemptuously point to the so-called "happy family" de la Madrid drew around him in the Budget Secretariat. Many members of that "family" expect to join Salinas in the new administration. Moreover, critics note, neither de la Madrid nor his chosen successor held elected office prior



Mexican President Miguel de la Madrid

The ruling party has selected Carlos Salinas de Gortari as its sure-bet presidential candidate. But many Mexicans are growing restless with an election process that offers little democracy.

to being selected for the presidency.

But the truth is Mexico could have had much worse leaders than the two Harvard-trained economists. Faced with a palpable danger of economic collapse, de la Madrid and Salinas have together engineered an economic policy that has shown signs of success. It has improved the balance of trade, increased foreign reserves to \$15 billion (about a third of which comes from this year's \$13.7 billion loan package), brought \$5-6 billion in expatriated capital back into the country and fostered a renewed—if uneven—growth of industrial production.

Yet the Reagan administration has not hesitated to leak its doubts about the de la Madrid government, including CIA reports outlining corruption. The move has reportedly done little more here than earned the justified resentment of de la Madrid and those around him.

All in the family: Meanwhile, opposition parties and the Democratic Current have played up the notion that the PRI has lost touch with the masses. As evidence of this they point to the high level of absenteeism during the July 5 State of Mexico elections. Because the PRI has traditionally sought to legitimize its mandate with high voter turnouts, the July elections were a disaster. The party admitted the obvious, but refuted claims by the conservative National Action Party (PAN) that voter turnout was barely 20 percent.

To improve its image the PRI in late July announced a slate of six possible presidential candidates. In the last two successions the name of the PRI candidate had been leaked early in the nominating process, making the pretense of consensus-building a mockery. The new selection process was intended to restore discipline.

Observers see the new selection process as a positive precedent. But in its first run-through, that process was as damaging as it was comical. There was no real debate to outline platforms in the six candidates' appearances before the party's National Executive Committee.

Things to come: The next seven years could well mark a dramatic turning point in the country's history. There is a consensus among observers that the PRI's new process of naming presidential contenders beforehand is a potentially vital one, if only because it makes known who is being considered. Moreover, many believe optimistically that Salinas might be a democratizer in PRI clothing. The more pragmatic say that he will lead the country toward democracy not because he wants to, but because he has to given the circumstances. Change, they say, cannot be denied.

Salinas' competition on the left, however, has been thrown in disarray by the October 13 announcement that Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas—who with Muñoz Ledo headed the Democratic Current—would accept the presidential nomination of the Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution (PARM). PARM has long functioned hand-in-glove with the ruling party.

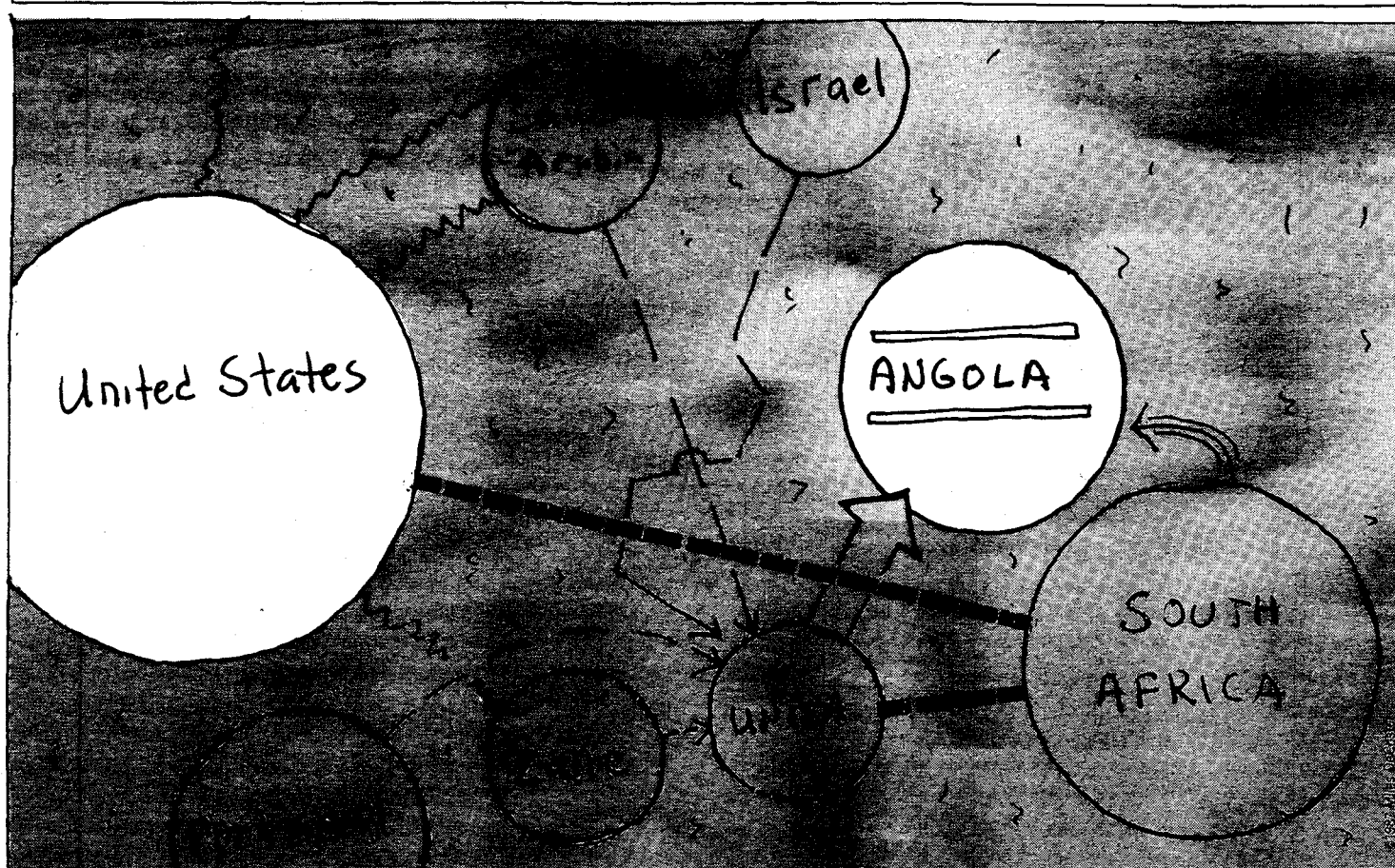
The move stunned the new leftist coalition known as the Mexican Socialist Party (PMS), which had hoped to lure the Current into its ranks. PMS candidate Heberto Castillo, whose struggle to pull together a united leftist front could now be crippled, says he will no longer negotiate with Cárdenas.

Cárdenas' jump also appears to have split the Current itself. Neither Muñoz Ledo nor Ifigenia Martínez, another Current leader, has followed Cárdenas to the PARM, despite their expressions of support. Cárdenas has been formally expelled from the PRI.

Whether Cárdenas' defection was a self-serving blunder or, as some suspect, a planned gesture calculated to neutralize the left's growing momentum, it has served the interests of the PRI. The ruling party now once again faces a fractured field of competition. All that remains is for the party to crank out yet another huge victory for its candidate, leaving Mexicans to wonder when things are ever going to change. □

M. Floyd Hall is a U.S. journalist based in Mexico City.

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What if they had a secret war and nobody cared?

By Jim Naureckas

THERE'S NO TALK IN WASHINGTON OF Angolagate—but perhaps there should be. Although President Reagan's covert support for the Nicaraguan contras has raised an outcry from Congress, the media and the left, his war in Angola provokes mainly apathy.

The U.S. continues to fund the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA)—a South African-backed army that has fought the Marxist Angolan government since the country gained its independence from Portugal in 1975. The theory of "low-intensity warfare" that produced the contras—the idea that proxy guerrilla armies can destabilize uncooperative Third World countries—also lies behind the support for UNITA.

Critics point to a number of other similarities between the two conflicts:

- The Reagan administration may have evaded or violated laws forbidding involvement in both covert wars. In Nicaragua, it was the Boland Amendment; in Angola, the Clark Amendment, which prohibited U.S. assistance to the Angolan rebels from 1976 to 1985. Saudi-born businessman Sam Bamieh told the Iran-contra committee that Saudi Arabia funneled more than \$50 million to UNITA in 1983 as part of the deal with the White House that gave the Saudis AWACS planes. According to ABC News, CIA Director William Casey personally solicited this aid. The Saudis later gave similar aid to the contras.

Last May the respected bimonthly *Africa Report* published an unattributed report that since 1982 the U.S. government has supplied UNITA with weapons through intermediaries in Saudi Arabia, Israel and Zaire. Press reports have also suggested that covert U.S. funds meant for the Afghan rebels have also been diverted to UNITA.

- Both UNITA and the contras have ties to unpopular pre-revolutionary regimes. Just as the contras pretend to have led the fight against Anastasio Somoza even though their military structure comes straight from the old dictator's army, UNITA founder Jonas

Savimbi makes much of his supposed anti-colonial record.

But correspondence between Savimbi and the Portuguese government, leaked by Portugal in 1974, shows that in 1972, when UNITA was supposed to be an independence movement, it was actually receiving arms from the colonial government. Reaffirming his alliance with then-fascist Portugal against the eventually successful Marxist liberation movement, Savimbi pledged, "We will never make the mistake of taking up arms against the authorities."

- The strategies of both UNITA and the contras are based on terrorizing the population, killing health workers and teachers and

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sabotaging the economy. Some of UNITA's methods are even crueler than those of the contras. UNITA's tactic of planting land mines in farmland has created 20,000 amputees the government must support, and has cut food production in a country where many live on the edge of starvation. A UNICEF report estimated that 214,000 children died unnecessarily between 1981 and 1986 because of the war.

Geopolitical gem: Although U.S. strategies in both countries are similar, Angola is in some ways even more crucial to the Reagan administration than Nicaragua. U.S. pressure on Angola is vital to maintaining a regional balance that allows the South African government to dominate southern Africa.

Angola supports and harbors the African National Congress and the South West African People's Organization, armed groups fighting apartheid in South Africa and South African-occupied Namibia, respectively. Releasing pressure on Angola would threaten the survival of white rule in South Africa, which Reagan regards as key to maintaining strategic and economic control in the region. Further, Angola is rich in strategic minerals like oil, uranium, chrome and cobalt, not to mention diamonds.

Nicaragua—with only a third the population of Angola, few natural resources and

relatively stable neighbors—would seem to be the less significant country. But both the left and right in the U.S. treat Nicaragua as a far more important issue that overshadows Angola's geopolitical importance.

Thus, the major media have devoted their time to exposing the contra war, allowing the U.S. war in Angola to remain truly covert. Bob Woodward's recent biography of Casey, for example, examines the illegal contra operation while omitting any reference to the CIA chief's secret dealings in Angola.

And ever since the Clark Amendment was repealed in 1985, U.S. lawmakers have generally played the role covert operatives have assigned to them: giving silent assent—and money.

Congress' biggest debates have not been on whether to give aid to UNITA, but whether aid should be overt or covert. Aboveground aid was pushed first by conservatives making a public show of anti-communism. Now liberals led by Sen. Bill Bradley (D-NJ) are promoting making the aid vote public, in hope of stimulating at least the beginnings of a debate on the merits of funding UNITA.

The solidarity factor: The absence of public debate on the Angolan war is partly due to a lack of grass-roots organization around the issue, according to Segundo Mercado-Llorens, an analyst for the Coalition for

Congressional debates have not been on whether to continue to aid the Angolan rebels, but whether aid should be overt or covert.

a New Foreign Policy, a liberal Washington, D.C.-based think tank. "The southern Africa movement is not as loud, it is not as vocal, it is not as demonstrative" as groups opposed to contra aid, he says. "There are not the numbers in opposition."

With contra funding, Mercado-Llorens says, "The level of domestic opposition is so well organized that it's difficult to ignore."

But Angola is easy to ignore, even for the left, partly because of geography. "Thousands of Americans have gone to Nicaragua," points out Cecelie Counts, an analyst for TransAfrica, the black foreign policy lobby. "Maybe a hundred have gone to Angola."

There are also historical and cultural ties that bind Nicaragua and the U.S. "Angolans play soccer, not baseball," Counts points out. From the time of the Monroe Doctrine to Reagan-era fears of a "communist beachhead" two days' drive from Texas, the U.S. has considered Latin America to be its sphere of influence. "Africa was assumed to be Europe's—and Europe's responsibility," Counts says.

Race may be another factor. "Black Africa has never been as interesting or romantic as Latin America, even to solidarity workers," according to Counts.

The race issue cuts many ways, according to Lisa Crooms of the American Committee on Africa, an anti-colonial organization. The U.S. black community has sometimes been reluctant to get involved with the southern Africa solidarity effort, perceiving it as a white-dominated movement. And despite its support from South Africa, UNITA has pitched itself with some success to black U.S. churches as a black nationalist organization.

Which side are you on? U.S. anti-apartheid organizers have overcome many of these same organizational handicaps to mobilize against the South African government. But they express frustration with their inability to convey the link between South Africa and Angola. The Clark Amendment, in fact, was repealed just days after the U.S. protested South African incursions into neighboring Angola and Botswana by recalling the U.S. ambassador from Pretoria.

"It's easy to be anti-apartheid," Crooms says, noting that many people who protest South African policies shun the Angola issue because they fear being perceived as pro-communist. With Angola, she says, "people have to put out what they are for," rather than merely opposing a policy.

American liberals identify more easily with Nicaragua than with Angola—a fact that contributes to the lack of organized opposition to UNITA funding. Though Reagan calls it a "totalitarian dungeon," Nicaragua has a political system fairly close to the U.S. model, while Angola follows Cuba's example. Further, Angola has had few material successes for solidarity workers to point to—largely because UNITA's destabilization is so effective.

Long-term pressure from constituents to stop the war in Nicaragua set the climate for Congress, in the wake of the Iran-contra scandal, to conduct a serious—if somewhat constrained—inquiry into the contra war. But the Iran-contra committee was meticulous in avoiding any revelations that might expose the ongoing operation in Angola. In the absence of popular concern, Congress will usually follow the CIA's lead on such covert interventions.

For covert operatives like Albert Hakim and Richard Secord, one Third World revolution is pretty much like another. "Who knows," Hakim said Secord told him during the Nicaraguan operation. "If we do a good job the president may send us to Angola." Without grass-roots opposition to U.S. covert wars, people like Secord and Hakim will always have somewhere to go. □

By David Niddrie

JOHANNESBURG

WHETHER YOU REGARD THE RECENT bloody clash between Angolan government troops and a combination of South African defense force units and UNITA rebels as the victory UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi says it is depends on who you're talking to.

For Savimbi in his Jamba headquarters in southeastern Angola, it was a "major victory," a "historic" rout of a do-or-die bid by the Angolan government of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos to crush his 12-year, South African-backed rebellion.

Pretoria saw the 14,000-strong Angolan advance as enough of a threat to send in a large portion of its aerial strike force of aging French Mirages, extensive heavy artillery and between four and seven full infantry battalions—even if it meant having to admit for the first time in several years that its troops were in Angola.

Even before it began in late September, both UNITA and South Africa had characterized the advance, overseen by Soviet Gen. Konstantin Shagnovitch, as a last-ditch bid

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by Luanda to crush the UNITA rebels. But while Angola admitted taking heavy casualties from the South African aerial attack, South African journalists visiting Jamba in early October returned not entirely convinced by a display of "captured" weaponry. It included rusting tanks that journalists claimed were incapacitated during earlier clashes.

More importantly, however, the Angolan advance into the southeastern province of Kuando Kubango could never have overrun Savimbi's Jamba headquarters, 100 miles south of where it was stopped. The Angolan rainy season strongly favoring the UNITA forces was just weeks away. And the government forces moved extremely cautiously, ensuring that each position was covered by a tight network of radar installations, anti-aircraft batteries and fighter cover—apparently to protect against the kind of ferocious South African airborne counterattack that exploded against its front ranks on October 1.

"We are not seeing the final thrust UNITA has been suggesting," said Soviet expert Winrich Kuhne of West Germany. In South Africa after an extended visit to Moscow, Kuhne argued that the attack was part of a broader, long-term strategy to isolate UNITA-held territory, thus preventing its guerrillas from launching raids in the rest of the country. "The Soviets recognize that they cannot destroy UNITA, so the strategy is to contain it," he said.

Containment, however, is no long-term solution, and a negotiated end to the Angolan conflict appears to be on the Soviet agenda.

Converging course: Since the election of Mikhail Gorbachov marking the beginning of *glasnost*, and the collapse of President Reagan's constructive engagement policy toward Pretoria, Soviet and U.S. foreign policy on southern Africa appear to be converging. Common to both is recognition that Pretoria is the key to the turmoil throughout the troubled subcontinent. It is largely a result of South Africa's destabilization policy that originated in its attempts to prevent other countries from granting safe haven to guerrillas of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC).

The Soviet Union regards the ongoing conflict in southern Africa as a potential stum-

Angolan war at center of new superpower diplomacy in region



UNITA head Jonas Savimbi's troops are part of Pretoria's destabilization campaign.

bling block to a solution to its "most immediate foreign policy priority, the prevention of nuclear war."

In pursuit of this, said Victor Goncharov, deputy director of the Soviet Institute of African Studies, "it is important to avoid giving an East-West character to the regional crisis." In an academic paper delivered to a July conference in Harare, Zimbabwe, he argued for superpower cooperation in the subcontinent, although serious cooperation is unlikely until the end of Reagan's presidency.

Taking a conciliatory position on South Africa, which clearly startled many of Pretoria's opponents, he said his government was encouraging "more flexibility" and "objectivity" from the ANC in its battle to end apartheid as well as "less use of dogmatic formulations."

In keeping with a more pragmatic Soviet approach to foreign policy, he discouraged attempts by the ANC and the rest of South African opposition to "build socialism." Meanwhile, the ANC and its allies—which he implied could include liberal white groupings and sectors of big business—should concentrate on achieving "national liberation."

"South Africa will eventually become socialist—not in 25 years but in a century," he said, adding: "I am an optimist."

This suggestion was widely seen as tacit Soviet acknowledgement that post-apartheid South Africa would remain, for the foreseeable future, part of the West. It was also regarded as a move to encourage superpower cooperation in the region. In a sub-

sequent interview with Zimbabwe-based journalist Howard Barrell, Goncharov said his government had "no desire to interrupt those traditional ties between some countries in southern Africa and some Western powers."

When asked about suggestions that the Soviet Union deliver the ANC to the negotiating table in exchange for similar U.S. pressure on Pretoria, he answered, "that is what they [the Reagan administration] are saying to us now: 'Tell your ANC friends to give guarantees [on minority racial rights] and we will settle this thing.' But we are not going to do that."

Soviet gestures: Changing Soviet perspectives on southern Africa were also highlighted by Institute for African Studies Director Gleb Starushenko. A month earlier he had argued for a two-chambered post-apartheid South African parliament—the first elected by universal franchise, the second made up of racially elected representatives of each of South Africa's four major race "groups." Each could exercise veto power over new legislation.

These views dovetail with a cautious Soviet attempt to improve its current non-relationship with Pretoria. "Moscow seems to be preparing the Organization for African Unity for this," South African Kremlin-watcher Philip Nel said, pointing to the recent African visit of Anatoli Gromyko, son of the Soviet president and, as head of the Institute for African Studies, an immediate superior to Goncharov and Starushenko.

While both of them implicitly ruled out such rapprochement at the ANC's expense, there are signs of Soviet impatience with the impasse in South Africa and Pretoria's resulting destabilization of the rest of the subcontinent, most importantly of Angola.

The West is also pressuring the ANC to show "flexibility." ANC President Oliver Tambo spoke last month of "urgings by the leaders of Canada, New Zealand, Australia and Britain that we end our armed struggle."

And in July U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Chester Crocker secretly offered the Angola government formal recognition by Washington—withheld since dos Santos' government assumed power in 1975. In exchange he demanded, aside from the anticipated call for withdrawal of Cuban troops, the closure of ANC bases in northern Angola, according to diplomatic sources.

The closure of its Angolan bases would severely hamper the ANC's ability to sustain its 25-year-old, low-intensity guerrilla war to end apartheid. An end to the ANC's military campaign is a major precondition set by Pretoria for talks.

Perhaps coincidentally, deputy South African Information Minister Stoffel van der Merwe followed up Crocker's secret offer by saying that if the ANC were to abandon its policy on violence and acknowledge the bona fides of Pretoria's limited reform program, "I think the government would not be able to resist the pressure to legitimize them."

A discreet offer from South African Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis for secret talks with Tambo came on the heels of Crocker's demand to the Angolans.

However skeptically the ANC may regard such offers—Tambo cited the failed Nkomati accord with Mozambique and negotiations to end Pretoria's occupation of Namibia "which dragged on for so long the world almost forgot about them"—the possible closure of its bases pressures the ANC to compromise.

Also linked to the international initiative on southern Africa are suggestions of the upcoming release of jailed ANC leaders Govan Mbeki and Nelson Mandela. Opposition South African sources suggested that Mandela's release would generate an international push for an ANC concession to Pretoria.

"We would value Mandela's release greatly," said an ANC source. "But Pretoria seems to be angling, in freeing him, to exclude him from the political process. In exchange they are hoping to pull our military teeth."

It serves Pretoria well to go along with international initiatives until it has "succeeded in mutualizing or limiting the ANC's military capacity, without addressing the major problem, apartheid," he added. "If that is achieved, Pretoria will do what it has always done—defy world opinion."

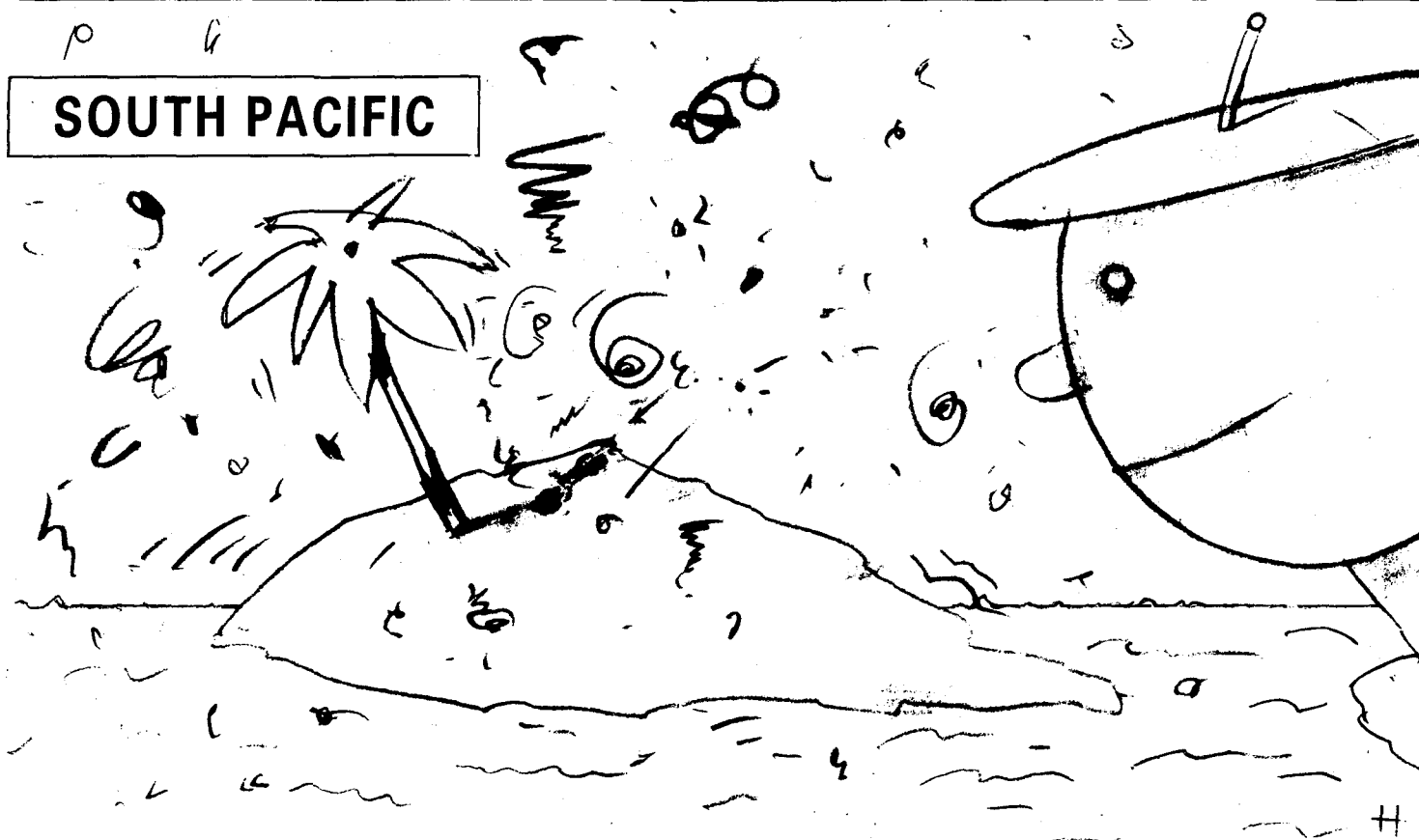
Van der Merwe may have unintentionally endorsed this in a recent interview with *Newsweek*. He referred to the diminishing impact of international pressure on South Africa: "There is much less concern with overseas opinion now as compared with a year ago. We've giving up to some extent on trying to convince the world."

This shifting international emphasis from a solution to South Africa's internal problems to de-escalation of the southern African regional conflict was evident two weeks ago. At the Commonwealth Conference in Vancouver, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher pushed through a proposal to concentrate on aid to the frontline states bordering South Africa rather than on sanctions.

David Niddrie is *In These Times'* correspondent in South Africa.

IN THESE TIMES OCT. 28-NOV. 3, 1987 9

SOUTH PACIFIC



How French interests are served by the overthrow of Fiji's government

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

THEY CANNOT REJOICE OPENLY, BUT FRENCH leaders who are trying to preserve France's imperial role in the South Pacific must have been delighted by the recent coup in Fiji. There are two main reasons for such delight: nuclear testing and New Caledonia.

Back in April, when the left led by Dr. Timoci Bavadra won the elections in Fiji, the new foreign minister pledged his island nation to pursue the anti-nuclear policy agreed on by the South Pacific Forum. The May 14 coup by Lt. Col. Sitiveni Rabuka took care of that. He can be counted on not to try to interfere with U.S. nuclear warships or French nuclear testing.

But the coup's biggest benefit for the French is the indirect blow it delivers to the cause of the native Melanesians in the French South Pacific island of New Caledonia, the Kanaks. The fact that the Melanesians in Fiji resorted to armed force to overthrow a democratically elected majority is likely to stiffen French resistance to the Kanaks' de-

mands for New Caledonia's independence.

Different stories: Like the Melanesians of Fiji, the Kanaks have been made a minority in their native islands by colonialism. There are differences, however. In the Fiji islands the British gave the original islanders privileges of land-owning and military service, while the imported Indian population of indentured servants did most of the productive work. The Indian majority thereby came to occupy what could be described as the left of the political spectrum. Col. Rabuka, overthrowing a democratically elected government to keep all power and property in the hands of the Melanesians, is clearly on the right.

In New Caledonia French settlers (Caldoches) have had the privileges and have occupied the "right" of the political spectrum. The Kanak cause has won sympathy only on the left.

Under the Socialist government, Edgard Pisani tried to reconcile the Kanaks and Caldoches and find a political compromise that could satisfy both communities, whether New Caledonia remained French or was

granted independence. Pisani's efforts were fiercely opposed by the Caldoches. The right has thrown out Pisani's reforms. During a September 13 referendum that was boycot-

The new government in Fiji can be counted on not to interfere with French nuclear testing in the South Pacific. The coup is also likely to stiffen French resistance to an independence movement in France's colonial island of New Caledonia.

ted by Kanak independentists, voters supported by more than 98 percent keeping New Caledonia part of France.

At the U.N. General Assembly October 7 New Zealand Foreign Minister Russell Marshall criticized the referendum. Marshall said French policy seemed designed to sharpen conflict between Kanaks and Caldoches and put obstacles in the way of independence.

Col. Rabuka's coup has given the French welcome arguments to counter such criticism.

The French representative in the General Assembly, Pierre-Louis Blanc, replied with gleeful sarcasm that when the will of the majority was thwarted in Fiji, it made the New Zealander sad, but it also made him sad to see the will of the majority respected in New Caledonia. The Frenchman took the New Zealander to task for not being "logical."

French are no more logical: They reject the rights of the Kanak minority but rush to the side of Col. Rabuka's minority in Fiji. The day after the U.N. exchange, it was announced that French patrol boats were taking part in an exercise with the Fijian navy. This amounted to a political endorsement of the coup at the time when the Commonwealth countries were still puzzling over how to react to Rabuka's seizure of power.

He has done a great service to the colonialists by disconnecting the cause of the native islanders from the causes of peace and democracy. His coup helps discredit the hopes of reformers like Pisani that a harmonious compromise could be worked out between ethnic customs and democratic institutions of European origin.

The Western powers warn of the danger to the South Pacific of Libyan interference—as if a small, faraway desert nation could overwhelm the Pacific Ocean. On a day-to-day basis, however, French hostility is much more directed toward New Zealand and Australia, suspected of hypocritically championing independence merely to push the French out and run the South Pacific by themselves. These suspicions stem from the fundamental conviction that small islands cannot really be independent, and the only question is who manipulates them first.

The Fiji events confirm this cynical view—even if the manipulator was not in fact Libya's Col. Muammar Khadafy but U.S. Ambassador and coup expert Vernon Walters, who visited the Fiji capital of Suva shortly before the coup.

The next target of the pro-nuclear Pacific powers is likely to be Vanuatu. On October 1 it expelled French Ambassador Henri Crepin-Leblond for allegedly interfering in the country's internal affairs by giving "substantial financial assistance" to opposition parties.



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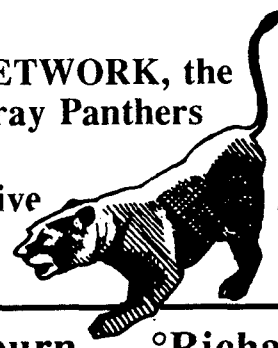
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By Kevin Robinson

GUATEMALA CITY

IN THE WAKE OF A SPREE OF EARLY OCTOBER bombings in Guatemala's capital, President Vinicio Cerezo has been accusing right-wing groups of having conspired to mount a coup effort. It would have been the country's first such overthrow attempt since Cerezo's democratically elected administration took power in January 1986, ending almost 20 years of successive military rule.

Cerezo's new tax reform program—the first since a 1954 military coup overthrew the country's only reformist government—triggered the present crisis. The tax overhaul raised violent opposition from the country's businessmen, who shut down their factories and shops for three days in protest.

Despite the private sector's virulent opposition, however, the army appears firmly behind Cerezo, ruling out the success of any coup attempt at the moment.

Step forward: The tax reform program is seen as Cerezo's first genuine effort to attack social injustice. It has the backing of unions, grass-roots organizations and center-left political parties. But these groups have doubts about the government's willingness and ability to make its reform work. And they are also dismayed by a new government promise to the private sector that the administration will not embark on any further tax reform or other major economic overhauls while Cerezo is in office.

The government had promised to restructure the country's backward tax system even before taking office. With the country's budget deficit expected to reach 30 percent of expenditures in 1988 and many planned social and economic development projects already stalled due to the state's chronic lack of funds, tax modifications are virtually unavoidable.

At present, state tax revenue is equivalent to about 7 percent of the gross domestic product—one of the lowest ratios in the world—yet three-fourths of current government income comes from taxes, according to official estimates. Moreover, most taxes are "indirect" consumer levies paid by all Guatemalans, while only 15 percent are "direct" taxes on higher-income groups. Some sources also estimate that up to \$6 million per month is lost to tax evasion.

"Until now, Guatemala has been considered a fiscal paradise, because businessmen here pay virtually no taxes," Saul Donado, a Finance Ministry official who helped draw up the new tax reform, told *In These Times*. "The reform is aimed at balancing somewhat the amount of taxes paid by the poor with those paid by the wealthy."

About the reform: Some of the six new tax laws modify indirect taxes—and could mean greater burden on the poor. But the principal modifications affect direct tax duties, such as income and property taxes. The government completely rewrote income tax regulations, for example.

"The old income tax law was totally unfair," said Donado. "It contained so many 'tax deduction' loopholes through which to avoid taxes, that many entrepreneurs didn't even pay a cent in income tax."

Still, the reform is considered moderate. Although state revenues should increase, the modifications won't alter the basic tax structure that promotes government dependence on indirect taxes.

"To attempt a real reform that totally inverts the dependence on indirect to direct taxes would be suicide," said Donado. "There have been numerous assassinations and

Taxing situation: Cerezo's reform triggers backlash

coups for that reason in the past."

Guatemala's conservative private sector steadfastly resists attempts to increase tax income at its expense. New taxes in part led to the military overthrow of Gen. Efraim Rios

GUATEMALA

in 1983. And in 1985, a coup was narrowly averted when Cerezo's predecessor, Gen. Humberto Mejia, rescinded proposed taxes on exports and imports.

Businessmen mean business: "The private sector's relations with the government are now worse than any other time in more than a decade as a result of the tax-package affair," said Augusto Garcia, the former president of the country's most powerful business alliance—the Coordinating Council for the Chambers of Agriculture, Industry and Finance (CACIF).

Rather than adjust taxes, CACIF demands that the government cut public spending to lower the fiscal deficit. "We want the government to do its part by eliminating the state bureaucracy," said Garcia.

When the reform took effect in early October, CACIF paralyzed about 90 percent of production and commerce around the country for three days. It was the first such private-sector protest action taken since 1950. Throughout the shutdown, heavily armed hit squads tossed grenades at scab bus companies and gasoline stations in an effort to paralyze transportation, and firebombs partially destroyed some government offices. Constant death threats also forced dozens of small-shop owners to close their doors. By the third day, the government accused some right-wing politicians and businessmen of seeking the support of military officers to plot a coup.

"The same groups that in the past organized coup d'etats to protest their interests are now again planting bombs and

threatening the population to destabilize the government and take power by force," charged Cerezo. "But conditions don't exist for a coup because the army and the people firmly support the government."

Friends in high places: Indeed, the armed forces appear united behind the executive, backing government attempts to promote social and economic development. Just days before Cerezo sent the tax reform to the Guatemalan congress for approval in August, the army high command appealed to the private sector to help "eliminate the root causes" for guerrilla war in the country.

"Subversion can't be fully eliminated if we don't create development-oriented policies

to resolve the economic and social problems facing the country," Army public relations head, Col. Roberto Letona, told *In These Times*.

Added Deputy Defense Minister Gen. Arturo de la Cruz, "Some sectors may have hoped to take advantage of the business shutdown to plot a coup d'etat, but the army is convinced the democratic system must be maintained."

Union confederations and grass-roots organizations almost unanimously support the tax reform, denouncing the private sector's refusal to budge in sharing the nation's wealth. But unions criticize the reform's shallow scope. Labor also fears that the government—until now unwilling to effect policies contrary to private-sector interests—will be unable to control rampant inflation as businessmen illegally raise prices to compensate for higher taxes.

"Government price controls and regulations never worked in the past, and we don't believe they will work now," said one high-level union leader. "Once the present situation stabilizes, workers and peasants will have to demonstrate to force the government to act against unscrupulous businessmen."

Feeding workers' fears is the worst economic crisis in Guatemalan history. Nearly 50 percent unemployment combined with an annual 25 percent inflation rate since 1984 has cut purchasing power almost in half, according to official estimates.

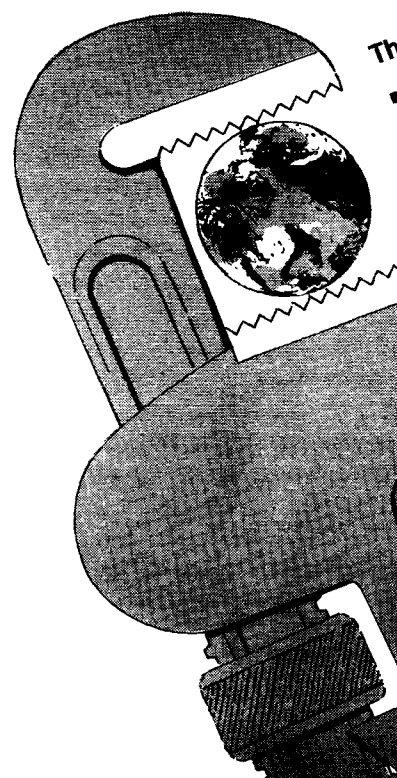
For the moment, calm has returned to the country. Cerezo vehemently rejected the CACIF demand for a moratorium on the tax reform. But the opening of government-private sector talks on proposed modifications to the reform brought an end to the business shutdown. CACIF has for the time being agreed to refrain from further protests, as long as the government agrees to significantly modify some of the tax reform clauses.

But Mario Solorzano, head of the Guatemalan Social Democratic Party, has joined others in calling on Cerezo to resist CACIF's pressure. As he explained: "This battle is politically important because it breaks the taboo that tax reform here is impossible."

Kevin Robinson is *In These Times*' correspondent in Guatemala.



Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo



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Education for Labor's Future

BLONDA

By Susan J. Douglas

EVERY MONTH NOW, IT SEEMS, A NEW, previously unknown working girl becomes an instant national celebrity. Last fall we met Fawn Hall. Lately we've been seeing a lot of Jessica Hahn. Yet there have been many mixed messages in the media about how we should regard such women. Should they be admired or ridiculed? What kind of woman actually deserves public attention and admiration, anyway? These nagging questions were finally resolved for us in the September issue of *Vanity Fair*.

On the cover is a very famous working girl. Diane Sawyer. Wearing a knowing smile, a \$700 Calvin Klein dress and a \$2,900 pearl necklace, her lush blonde hair ever so carefully tousled, she beckons us to step inside. She lures us to a smorgasbord of journalistic bonbons, a sampler of rich and glossy celebrity profiles.

But in this issue we are assured that in with the Godivas is also some protein, some bona fide brain food. A headline proclaims that this is the issue with Gail Sheehy's much-touted piece, "Why Gary Hart Destroyed Himself: Important New Evidence." Also in this issue, in stark contrast to the classy cover girl, is a tart: Donna Rice.

The inevitable comparison between *Vanity Fair*'s saint, Diane Sawyer, and its whore, Donna Rice, is arresting and, in the end, deeply disturbing. For here, and this time in bas relief, is yet another unabashed celebration of elitism in American magazines that uses women to distort, subvert and ultimately marginalize feminism in America.

Investigative pose: Posing as what used to be called "investigative reporting," the Sheehy article purports to analyze the character of the man who could have been president, but threw it all away for an illicit tryst. But Hart's character is not the piece's main focus. Much of it is a gratuitous, catty and self-righteous attack on Rice: it is a lecture by a town matron, perhaps a school teacher or the minister's wife, to a girl from the wrong side of the tracks caught necking in the baseball dugout.

Why care whether Rice is taken to task in *Vanity Fair*? Because taken together with the awed, reverential hagiography of Sawyer, the two pieces serve up deeply distasteful commentary about class and gender in '80s America, about the importance of knowing—and staying in—your proper place, and about how mainstream journalism constructs, through such celebrity profiles, discourses about proper feminine behavior.

Sheehy was a natural to write about Gary Hart and Donna Rice. In her 1971 book *Hustling*, Sheehy deplored what she saw as the explosion of prostitution in New York. She explored the "demimonde of hustling"

(a phrase and concept that would come in handy 16 years later), while also taking a course with Margaret Mead, and was impressed by Mead's assertion that "when women disengage completely from their traditional role, they can be more ruthless and savage than men."

Sheehy observed that "the rise of feminism and the boom in prostitution coincided.... Both groups of women are extremists." She explicated the class ladder of prostitution, from the lowly street hooker to the "pseudo-aristocratic courtesan who plays in the big leagues for the highest stakes: wealth and social position." She referred to prostitutes as "willing commodities" and "throwaway human beings," while the "party girl" was a "travelling parasite."

Several years later Sheehy decided to go the "I'm O.K., You're O.K." route with *Passages*, her book about the life-cycles of self-absorbed but confused middle-class America. Then came her "In Search of Excellence" phase with *Pathfinders*, which instructed Americans how to choose the right path, avoid ruts, take a few well-calculated risks and achieve well-being.

Obsessed with success: All Sheehy's books are obsessed with status and success, with what distinguishes the haves from the have-nots. They are modern-day social Darwinism, with all its implications about who is—and who is not—entitled to success and happiness. They combine pop psychology and a concern over character with a strong bourgeois sensibility about the right and the wrong way to live.

Who better to take on the party girl and the man haunted by "the character issue" than Gail Sheehy? Where better to publish such a piece than in the *National Enquirer* for the Ralph Lauren set, *Vanity Fair*? How better to drive home what a pathetic, contemptible tramp Donna Rice is than to have the reader compare her with the ultimate superwoman, Diane Sawyer?

Sheehy's "important new evidence" leads her to the novel conclusion that there is a "pathological deficit in Hart's character." But her story's news peg, the so-called "character issue," is already hackneyed and unconvincing. It is presented as if changing one's name or being governed more by one's crotch than by common sense are the ultimate tests of character. It is also presented as if character is not an issue with anyone else; with other public figures the equation between biography and character isn't so important. When is *Vanity Fair* going to dispatch a well-known writer to the Midwest and have her interview old friends, Sunday-school teachers or football coaches and ascertain how the incumbent president's formative years led him to widen the gap between the rich and poor, feminize poverty, visit Nazi cemeteries and send murdering thugs into Central America to slaughter entire villages (to name just a few examples of a "pathological deficit" in character)?

Sheehy applies the "character issue" test to Donna Rice and, not surprisingly, finds her deeply deficient: because Rice does not exhibit traditional feminine qualities, she has no class and thus no character. The way Sheehy pastes together circumstantial evidence about Rice's life and presents it as a morality tale should serve as a chilling warning to any woman not on a "legitimate" career path, or married, at home, with children. For Sheehy, Rice is fair game because she is an interloper into the world of the rich and famous, a woman without a proper pedigree who tried to use her beauty to make contacts, achieve upward mobility, and who so far has failed miserably.

Unlike Sawyer, Rice is not the model of a "real" woman. Her room was "always a mess." At 21 she was a "willowy if flat-chested blonde." Her Phi Beta Kappa key doesn't count, since "6 percent of her senior class" got one. She was "always out having a good time." And, most contemptible of all, she tried to meet "people of significance" and was "driven to dating celebrities."

As final evidence of what a lowlife she is, we learn that for two years she lived with a man who was eventually busted for dealing marijuana. Sheehy credulously relates Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) officials' assessments of the man as a "significant drug trafficker," without acknowledging what most people know: the DEA and the cops routinely and wildly exaggerate the street value of the drugs they confiscate and the importance of the small fry they usually bust.

After her boyfriend was jailed, Rice "focused not on finding a relationship but on advancing her career." The implication is that Rice—first and foremost a calculating, ambitious parasite and a low-class harlot—was so lacking in feminine sensibility that she wasn't the least bit troubled by her boyfriend's fate.

Ad nauseum: Before commenting on this portrait, it is useful to flip through the ads for diamond studded watches, designer leisure wear and collagen-filled anti-wrinkle systems to Michael Shnayerson's piece on Diane Sawyer. She is a very different woman indeed—the embodiment of class. "How she moves!" is the piece's first line. A few paragraphs down comes "America is in love."

This girl has a pedigree. She comes from "Irish and English and pioneer stock." She went to Wellesley. She is "stunningly well informed." She quotes from *The Unbearable Lightness of Being*. Her apartment is stark and neat.

"On her not infrequent nights out," notes Shnayerson, "Sawyer is escorted by the likes of Mort Zuckerman, Warren Beatty, Marvin Hamlisch, Mike Nichols—even William Paley." (Beatty, a sleazy womanizer in the Sheehy piece, is here a highly desirable escort.) No one would dare mention breast size in this story, and we are

assured that her blonde hair is "100 percent natural."

Sawyer is an outstanding reporter because she has "fabulous contacts" and is a "good politician" who knows how to get people to warm to her. And no lowlife boyfriend for Sawyer. Her preferred beau, Richard Holbrooke, now managing director at Shearson Lehman Brothers, used to be assistant secretary of state for East Asia under "Cy Vance," and while it's true that Holbrooke was "consistently tolerant of human rights violations" in places like the Philippines, that matters little since he is "likeable, bright, a touch Cary Grantish."

Even though Sawyer makes \$1.2 million a year, she's not materialistic, and she's well aware of the responsibility that comes with the money. As long as you "make sure your salary is not hurting anybody else," such income is fine, a "lovely accident," as the socially aware commentator puts it.

How did Sawyer get where she is today? Brains, hard work, loyalty and compassion all played a role, of course. But it also turns out that her father had political contacts in Washington, and eventually she was working directly for one of the most admired presidential press secretaries in recent history, Ron Ziegler. Because she is deeply loyal, she flew on Richard Nixon's resignation plane out to San Clemente, and because she felt "this monumental sense of responsibility" to ensure that the historical record was impeccably accurate, she stayed in San Clemente for four years working on Nixon's memoirs. Then Bill Small, senior vice president of CBS and old friend of the Sawyer family, hired her to work at CBS—and the rest, as they say, is history.

The magazine wants you to know one more morsel about Diane Sawyer: "the lady gives nothing away...she holds back."

The style is the message: Taken together, these stories serve up some important instructional messages about female success in the '80s. And the lessons are personified by women who affected the careers of felled presidential timber. According to the mainstream press, one should and did prosper by the association, the other must not and will not. One emerged a saint, the other a whore.

The woman worth our veneration is a gorgeous, tidy, upper-middle-class, overpaid workaholic whose sexual energies are properly sublimated in her career. But her hyper-ambition is appropriately tempered by her nurturing side. The fact that she maintains her contacts by sending thoughtful notes to people on embossed Tiffany stationery should dispel doubts about the character of a woman who spent more than four years of her life working for the only president in history forced to resign from office in complete disgrace.

We are supposed to envy her choice of mail companions, from Henry Kissinger to her current beau. Whatever little illegalities or ethical transgressions they may have committed on foreign populations in the name of U.S. national security, these guys have

AMBITION

character: after all, they play tennis indoors and wear tuxedos when they go out on the town. They are worlds apart from the evil demons of the demimonde, those guys who sell pot.

Donna Rice, on the other hand, represents everything women should avoid. She didn't work hard enough. She didn't go to a classy college. She had the wrong boyfriend. She liked to have a good time. She was messy. She chased men. She was pushy and ambitious. She didn't hold back. Like Sawyer, it was important to Rice to make contacts and meet important people, but she didn't have an institutionally appropriate way of doing this: she didn't have Tiffany stationery and she was too obvious about it all.

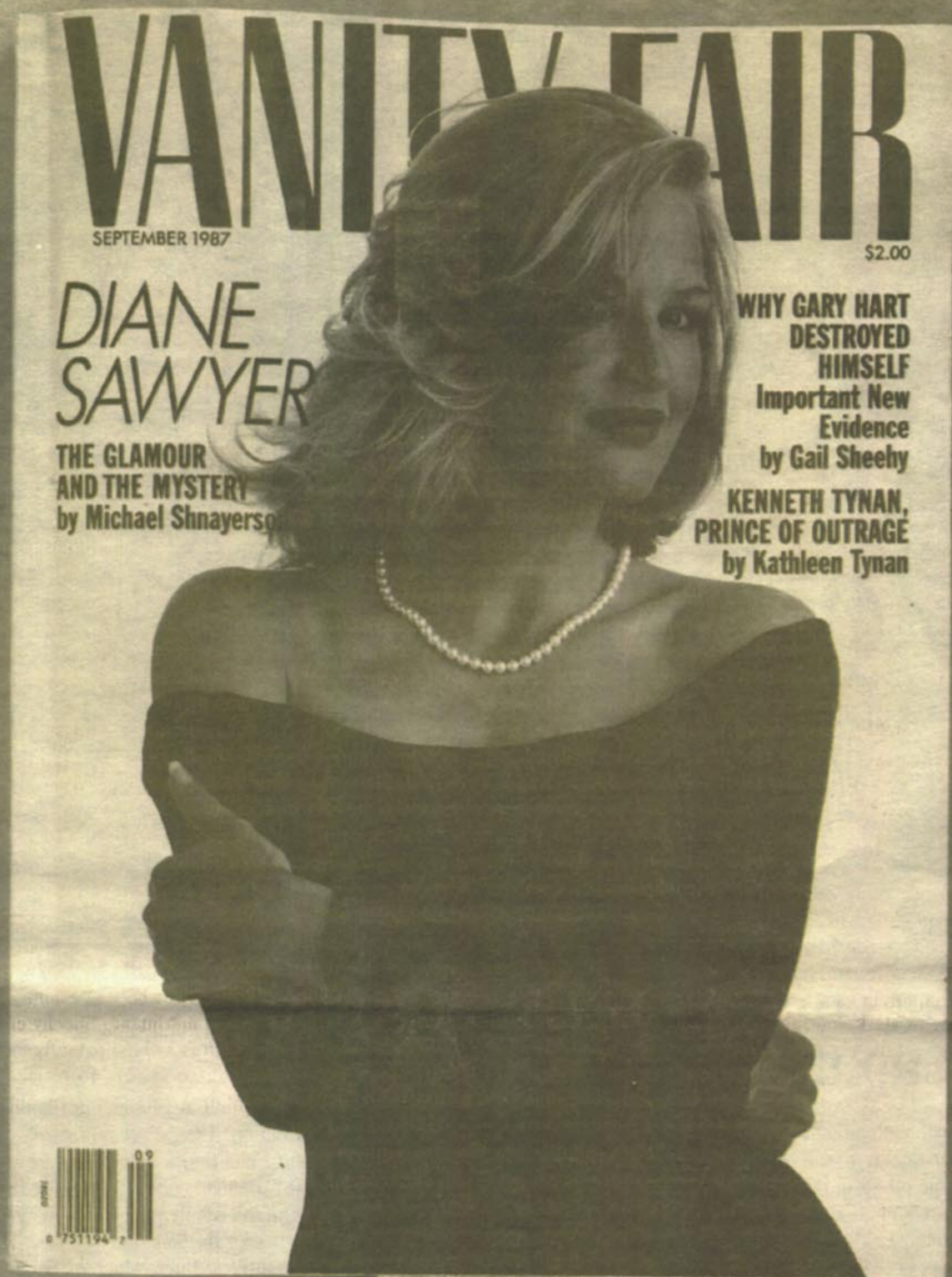
Rice failed to realize that in an age when making the right contacts (especially for *Vanity Fair* readers) is an accepted compulsion, you are never supposed to look like you're trying to make contacts, especially if you're a woman. Most contemptible of all, she failed to contain her own sexuality.

Despite Sheehy's murky innuendo, it's still not clear whether Rice was paid for it, or whether she simply slept with those men with whom she was having a good time—but the distinction is unimportant. What matters is that in the current climate of sexual McCarthyism, all the pre-'70s taboos about "loose women" are returning with a vengeance, informing public discourses about which women deserve respect and which ones merit ridicule. But if we're really going to ask about ethics and character, and publicly label certain women whores, then we must ask which woman is more deserving of the label: the woman who trades sex for a good time, or the woman who sells her services to a man guilty of a range of criminal acts affecting an entire nation and much of the world?

In *Vanity Fair*, what makes one woman a smooth politician and the other a crass seeker of contracts, the one an enviable escort of prominent men and the other a craven groupie, the one entitled to dazzling success and the other deserving of ostracism, is pedigree, money and class. Under the magazine's slick veneer, beneath the image of modern, up-to-the-minute, cynical journalism, lurk age-old stereotypes about the inherent differences between upper-class women and lower-class slatterns.

You can immediately identify each by the extent to which she exercises restraint and accedes to social control. The natural-blond princess is entitled to unlimited riches and love, while the bottle-blond witch deserves loneliness, misery, poverty and obscurity. In the '80s, as rich women get richer and poor women get poorer, we have only to turn to *Vanity Fair* to read modern-day fairy tales that naturalize and legitimate the widening gap. □

Susan J. Douglas teaches media studies at Hampshire College. Her first book, *Inventing American Broadcasting*, is forthcoming from Johns Hopkins.



Under *Vanity Fair*'s slick veneer lurk age-old stereotypes about the inherent differences between upper-class women and lower-class slatterns, between the true princess and the undeserving but greedy witch.

EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

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As Reagan crumbles, who will pick up the crumbs?

Since his election in 1980 Ronald Reagan has used smoke, mirrors and the force of his personality to roll over a pusillanimous Democratic Party and a servile media in pursuit of an ideological agenda out of touch with history and at odds with the interests of all but the wealthiest of Americans.

His administration has been one in which greed, combined with ignorance and venality, won the applause and admiration of opinion-makers and politicians in the face of a seemingly endless series of misstatements, lies and failed policies—until the American people finally took control of the Senate from him and the contragate scandal fatally exposed administration contempt for our constitutional form of government. Now all that is changed. The erosion of respect and support for Reagan is becoming an avalanche as pundits and politicians scurry to get off the ship.

But it took a series of undeniable disasters to bring about this change. Contragate, the Bork nomination hearings and, finally, the stock market crash last week (see stories on pages 2 and 3), each in its own way, have revealed undeniable flaws in the Reagan agenda. His neocolonialism—his attempt to restore the United States to its pre-Vietnam position in the community of nations—led to contragate. His social agenda—a return to the pre-civil rights and women's movement days—led to the Bork debacle. And his military Keynesianism and free-market obsession—which have created massive federal deficits and turned the U.S. into a debtor nation—led to the 1929-style gyrations of the stock market.

Finally, someone's listening: The guardians of Corporate America have discovered that Reaganism, even on its own terms, just doesn't work. It will not restore capitalism to its earlier glories, it will simply bring it down. Although until recently it appealed short term to the truly greedy, it has now become an embarrassment.

Thus the flight of the pundits and politicians. Former Reagan admirers like James Reston of the *New York Times* now twit him for trying to solve problems by bad-mouthing Congress. "At the time of the crash," Reston writes, "the president, as usual, was out to lunch." A year ago these would have been brave words. Now they merely reveal the toadyism of the punditerati.

And Democrats in Congress are no different. Speaking of the president the week before the crash, Rep. Thomas J. Downey (D-NY) ad-

mitted that "members of Congress have known for some time his limitations. Now it's there for all the world to see." Gee, thanks. Too bad we had to wait until all the world could see before anyone in Congress would say so out loud.

The underlying problems are not new. In 1980, when Reagan was elected, the U.S. was the world's largest creditor nation. Now it's the world's largest debtor nation. A trade account surplus of \$166 billion that year has this year turned into a \$340 billion indebtedness to foreign investors. That happened because of the vast increase in military spending and unprecedented huge federal deficits, caused in part by drastic tax cuts for the wealthy.

The deficits drove up interest rates, which made American securities attractive to foreign investors. Meanwhile, with real wages steadily falling—for non-supervisory employees they've fallen 17 percent since 1973—and with plant utilization at low levels, investment in productive capacity has been unattractive to American capitalists. They have turned instead either to overseas investment or to speculative mergers and acquisitions that create only paper profits through rising stock prices. Thus the stock market boom—and inevitable bust.

None of this is new: It has been there for all to see. But it has been allowed to continue to the point of near disaster because both parties' leaders have been committed to the idea that the market knows best—or have been too timid to challenge that article of faith. Even among the generally liberal group of contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination, only Jesse Jackson has offered a serious challenge to the principles underlying Reaganism. And that may explain why he is way ahead of the pack, despite his having raised less money than any of the others.

Jackson's appeal to working people was demonstrated on October 15, when 3,000 Maine striking paper-mill workers, packed so tightly into a school gym that they had to raise their hands above their heads to applaud, cheered and chanted "Reagan out, Jesse in" when he arrived. After Jackson's speech, calling for union solidarity and criticizing multinationals' exporting of jobs, this all-white crowd lined up to give \$1, \$5 and \$10 bills to his campaign.

This was an event inconceivable four years ago when Jackson first ran. It is in part a personal tribute to him and his grass-roots efforts over the past four years. But it is also an indication that there is a vast audience for a new left politics in this country. Reagan has given us this opportunity. He and his ideas are more vulnerable than ever before.

But the right will lose only when there is a genuine challenge from the left.

LETTERS

Expedience

DICK RUSSELL'S STORY ON ENVIRONMENTAL damage to the oceans (*ITT*, Sept. 30) points out the tragedy and danger in current government policies and practices by polluters. It is crucial to recall that "legalized contamination" is the law of the land. This exacerbates environmental degradation and promotes an attitude that contamination within "regulatory limits" is not harmful.

Most environmental laws allow polluters to discharge contaminants into the air and water so long as it is done within specified limits. The hypocrisy of this approach is exemplified by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's (NRC) policy concerning discharges of radioactive effluents from nuclear power plants. For example, the Wolf Creek plant, located in east-central Kansas, regularly discharges radioactive water, gas and particulate matter into the environment with the blessings of the NRC. This occurs in spite of NRC's own findings that: in addition to the natural background of radiation that exists, is generally believed to increase the likelihood of certain diseases and to increase certain genetic defects." (NRC's Reactor Safety Study WASH 1400 [1975], p. 73.)

The legalized contamination represents a compromise between the nuclear industry and the NRC that will, over time, cause disease and genetic defects, all in the name of expediency.

Environmental protection advocates are frequently chided by the polluters for not being willing to compromise. However, as Dick Russell explains, the compromises already accomplished are making our planet a hostile and uninhabitable place.

Robert V. Eye
Counsel and Associate Director
Nuclear Awareness Network
Lawrence, Kansas

Haiti

DOMINICAN REFUGEES ATTEMPTING TO EMIGRATE to the U.S. by way of Puerto Rico take huge risks, as was so horribly demonstrated by a recent accident that killed more than 100 people. But economic and social desperation in their country has reached the point where they don't much care about "risks" any more. After all, dying of starvation isn't much better, if at all, than dying in a shark's mouth. It is a despicable system that presents poor people with such a ghastly choice.

The sugar industry (largely foisted on the Dominican Republic by Spanish, then U.S. colonialism) is in a state of profound crisis. Tens of thousands of sugar workers have been tossed out of employment, while at the same time Haitian "guest workers" (actually near-slaves) are being exploited to an even greater degree than before to preserve what profits there still are in the sweet stuff. The rest of the Dominican Republic's economy, both rural and urban, seems to be following sugar into oblivion. Perhaps 40 percent of the labor force is unemployed. Inflation is in the high double digits.

Hunger in both rural and urban areas is the main factor driving Dominicans to desperate measures like emigration in leaky, dangerous boats. It is hunger that Dominican Republic President Joaquin Balaguer neither wishes to alleviate nor can alleviate. All the while the Dominican Republic is being put on the torture rack of International Monetary

Fund "austerity." In a real sense, therefore, the recent accident involving 100 human beings can be attributed indirectly to the IMF and its hotshot "technocrats." One wishes the mainstream media would make that particular connection, even in passing.

As long as the U.S. props up unpopular, exploitative and incompetent political-economic orders in Haiti and the Dominican Republic, tragedies at sea among refugee "boat people" will continue.

Frank W. Goheen
Camas, Wash.

The crash of 1990

THANKS, *ITT*, FOR G. PASCAL ZACHARY'S STIMULATING review of the controversial best seller, *The Great Depression of 1990* by Ravi Batra (*ITT*, Sept. 30). The book's thesis that gross maldistribution of purchasing power that caused the 1929 crash will cause the crash of 1990 is quite credible to people 64 and older who lived through the Great Depression. This alone may account for the book's high sales.

But Zachary fails to relate maldistribution of purchasing power to martyr Olaf Palme's organic whole world community thesis, i.e., the economic well-being of the world community, increasingly interdependent, demands substantial improvement in the living standards, purchasing power and therefore productivity of the world's poor, most of whom live in the Third World. Neither does he relate the prospects of an economic crash in 1990 to a major factor not existent in 1929, i.e., the massive indebtedness of Third World countries and the U.S.

The absence from today's political debate of any mention of an economic crash in the '90s and its relevance to the U.S. switch from the world's number-one creditor to its number-one debtor in just eight years of warfare state economic and political policies is also familiar. There was no talk of economic crashes in 1927 either.

Nicholas V. Seidita
Northridge, Calif.

Crime and punishment

ALFRID LEE AND DINO JOSEPH DRUDI'S "DEBATE" about racism, crime and punishment (Letters, Aug. 19, Oct. 14) is almost beside the point. Neither race nor the forms of punishment are significantly related to the "levels" of crime and, more importantly, to the causes of criminality. But labor, class and the developing political economy are.

As criminologists we know that the rise and decline in the demand for labor over the past century has had the strongest correlation with the length and severity and

certainty of punishment. As for the ratio of black-white incarceration rates, now and in the '20s, these had more to do with urban and rural living patterns than with the levels of crime or with racism per se, except in the deep South. As for punishment being more severe and certain in the past, this is factually incorrect. One could easily demonstrate that punishment was far more discretionary (e.g., indeterminate vs. determinate sentencing) and uncertain 75 years ago than today.

Class is another variable that is more important than race, in the past as well as the present. To put it simply, poor people, black or white, don't price-fix or violate anti-trust laws; conversely, rich people, black or white, don't hold up Seven-Elevens. Oversimplifying again, the state and its agents of control only seriously sanction the latter behavior while the former is "deregulated" or "underenforced."

Finally, if racism and punishment, both as ideologies and practices, are to be analyzed in relationship to all forms of criminality (not just those of poor and powerless people), then they should be analyzed in relationship to a developing political economy and the accompanying class (race, gender) struggles.

Gregg Barak
Professor and Chairperson, Criminal Justice
Alabama State University, Montgomery

It's happening here

MOST PERSONS RAISED IN OUR ERA HAVE A CLEAR view of what it means to be an American. For instance, we chuckle to ourselves when we see films depicting citizens of European and communist countries groping for travel permits and/or working papers to comply with excessive government regulation. These scenes usually conjure up thoughts which make us glad we are Americans not subject to that type of tyranny.

Alas, the U.S. passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 which became effective in the middle of this year. It was passed, we were told, to stem the flow of illegal immigrants into this country seeking our jobs—a very emotional topic in these trying economic times. As it was depicted to us, this new law was going to affect illegal immigrants and the employers who hired them, and had nothing to do with our freedom. Certainly, we never imagined a national edict where we would have to prove our identity and citizenship before being eligible for hire in this country.

Technically, of course, we are not required to have government work papers. The new law to help Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) do its job does not say all citizens must do anything; it does

require all U.S. employers to maintain copies of certain government documents (such as drivers license and Social Security card) on file to prove identity and U.S. citizenship of all their new employees. A subtle distinction, to be sure. So subtle, recipients of U.S. food stamps are now required to supply the same documentation to that agency to "prove employability" before receiving federal assistance.

Richard J. Martin
Ft. Worth, Texas

Wormy tripe

THERE IS A WORM IN THE GOOD APPLE OF *IN THESE Times*. And it is a good apple. We have usually been pleased with the paper.

The worm is Alexander Amerisov, whose anti-Soviet reporting rivals the tripe of the right-wing media. The latest jewel is the report of the growing *glasnost* among the Soviet people. He had to create a conspiratorial atmosphere for a definite advance in democracy. *In These Times* will not hold our subscription if this continues.

Ralph H. Smith
Sebastopol, Calif.

Balanced

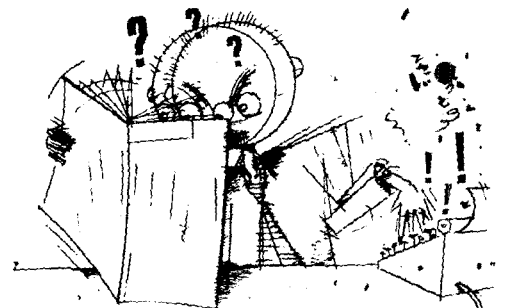
A FEW MONTHS AGO I WROTE TO COMPLAIN OF what I called a biased, myopic analysis of the Israel/PLO issue by Diana Johnstone.

I'm happy to write now to applaud the article by Hillel Schenker (*ITT*, Sept. 9). This is concise, cogent and informative; it lays it on both sides where it belongs.

Henry Perril
Spring Valley, N.Y.

Correction

A photograph on page 10 of the Oct. 21 issue of *In These Times* was incorrectly attributed. The photo should have been credited to Joan Kruckewitt/Impact Visuals.



Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space your letter—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

Incineration: garbage in, airborne garbage out

By Neil Seldman and David Morris

THE RECENT ODYSSEY OF ISLIP, NEW York's garbage barge provides a powerful image of the crisis that has transformed waste disposal from a minor business to our fastest-growing industry. Fifteen years ago hazardous wastes could simply be dumped in a nearby ditch. Today we spend just under 10 percent of our national income on prevention and treatment of toxic, radioactive and solid wastes and other pollutants. Cities may now pay as much for solid waste management as they do for police or fire departments. In Philadelphia landfills with 18-year capacities were valued at \$25 million in 1983. Today the city pays that amount in landfill fees each year.

The preferred "solution" to the waste crisis by governments at all levels is combustion. That's understandable. Incineration requires no change in garbage collection systems. Instead of being taken to a landfill the garbage goes to a nearby burn plant. Officials like incinerators because one large one can handle garbage from an entire metropolitan area. Moreover, the usual product of incinerators—electricity—can be sold on long-term, fixed-price contracts to utilities, which makes it easier to sell bonds.

Incinerators are expensive, but even that provides an incentive. A \$200 million plant generates \$10 million in fees for investment bankers, local bond counsels and underwriters. If local bonding authority is used, about \$2 million may go into the general fund. These enterprises are so lucrative that one developer in southern California offered a nearby community organization \$10 million to stop opposing a proposed giant

incinerator.

But incineration has a deadly drawback—pollution (see *In These Times*, Feb. 11). Much debate has centered on the dangers of dioxin emissions, but heavy metals emissions may be a much greater problem. While scientists argue over whether dioxin from an Albany, N.Y., plant yields one or 23 additional cancers per million people per 30-year operation, Dr. Daniel Wartenberg, a Harvard-trained environmental epidemiologist, estimates an additional 1,000 cancers per million people from cadmium emissions alone.

The federal government's restrictions on leaded gasoline have significantly reduced lead in the air, but if Massachusetts builds a proposed network of mass burn plants,

A lot of the debate about incinerating garbage has centered on the dangers of dioxin emissions, but heavy metals emissions may be much more deadly.

they may generate more airborne lead than has been removed by Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) gasoline regulations. Nor do incinerators eliminate disposal problems. True, they reduce them. For every 100 tons of garbage that enters the plant, only 25 tons of ash leave it. But ash concentrates and creates hazardous substances. A large mass burn plant in Baltimore produces an ash residue that leaches lead into groundwater at 200 times the al-

lowable level for drinking water.

Pollution from incineration travels hundreds of miles. The overlapping plumes of pollution multiply the dangers from individual plants. Traditional health-risk assessments ignore this. The Philadelphia City Council has documented how these understate the dangers from mass burn plants. These assume ash is not toxic, and that pollution will not go beyond an immediate neighborhood.

Citizens organize: Faced with hostility by industry and government, opponents of incineration have organized locally, regionally and nationally. Paul Connett in Canton, N.Y., and Mary Lou Van Der Venter in Berkeley, Calif., have formed the National Coalition Against Mass Burn and For Alternatives, a literal committee of correspondence for citizen organizations. Mark Lohbauer, city councillor of Pennsauken, N.J., has organized a related group, Elected Officials Against Mass Burn. Such networks strengthen local efforts, which have succeeded in defeating incineration plants in Irwindale, Fremont and San Francisco, Calif.; Broward County and Collier County, Fla.; and Lowell and Holyoke, Mass.

Coalitions against incineration cut across class and race. Often chambers of commerce and large industrial firms and local boards of realty fight against large burn plants when they discover the blank check at the bottom of the mass burn contract. Broward County tried to establish a special tax district that would have been able to double property taxes to cover any cost overruns at a proposed incinerator. Business interests joined to defeat it. In Springfield, Mo., local industrial plants joined the anti-mass burn movement to avoid a tenfold increase in disposal fees. In Edison, N.J., and Irwindale, Calif., large corporations fought mass burn plants to protect their investments in their facilities and consumer products.

But while citizens groups sometimes stop an incinerator or a proposed dump site, they have been much less effective in persuading local officials to pursue alternatives. The result is paralysis with local officials blaming citizen organizations while the garbage problem worsens.

Another way: Everyone pays lip service to recycling, but the support stops when the cash register must be opened. Recyclers have received no government support, even with landfill costs soaring. Recycling operations are supposed to sustain themselves from material sales, even though incinerator economics are based on ignoring the costs of future landfills. Long Beach, Calif., issued a \$150-million bond issue for mass burn. Half a million dollars, or 0.3 percent will go for recycling. New Jersey enacted a mandatory recycling act and allocates about \$6 million annually for recycling. The state spends \$600 million annually on disposal and proposes to spend several billion for incinerators. In Philadelphia, the city council appears to be serious about recycling. A mandatory recycling law has been enacted there with a goal of 50 percent diversion of waste from the landfill.

Citizen pressure has produced positive changes. Mass burn corporations like Westinghouse, Babcock and Wilcox, and General Electric now have alternative processing technologies to offer cities that oppose mass burn. These mechanically extract

from 15 to 30 percent of the waste stream and convert the rest into a refuse-derived fuel, or RDF. By extracting non-combustibles they improve combustion efficiency and dramatically reduce pollution, and they save money. But the primary product is still energy, which is inherently inefficient. We invest an enormous amount of energy to make a tree into paper. To burn the paper is to lose the energy used in producing it. How much better to reprocess it for its use value.

Citizen pressure has moved cities and mass burn corporations to embrace recycling, albeit modestly. In many cities nearly bankrupt recycling operations have been given large cash infusions by these corporations in return for citizens dropping opposition to incinerators. A growing number of cities are now striving to recycle 10 to 20 percent of the waste stream. But no more, for once a city chooses a giant incinerator it cannot allow recycling to become dominant. Incinerators demand large volumes of garbage to make them economical.

From crisis to opportunity: Up to 80 percent of the existing waste stream could be recycled. Repeated polls reveal a public willingness to recycle aggressively. New technologies make possible significant mechanical separation of materials in central processing plants, and such systems cost about half that of mass burn plants. They can come on-line in less than a year compared to three for an incinerator.

Garbage is too important a prospect for a city's future to be left entirely in the hands of the sanitation department. Recycling can create six times more jobs than landfilling or incineration. In Cleveland, Newark and Philadelphia, low-income neighborhoods have developed "buy-back" programs that create both jobs and markets.

The key to substantial materials recovery is to develop major markets for scrap. Transforming the raw material as much as possible into a final product within the urban area strengthens the local economy. In Minnesota a company developed a chemical compound that permits tires to be converted into rubber compounds that compete with natural or synthetic rubber. A community development corporation in Fresno, Calif., established a profitable cellulose insulation plant that supports a guaranteed price for newsprint.

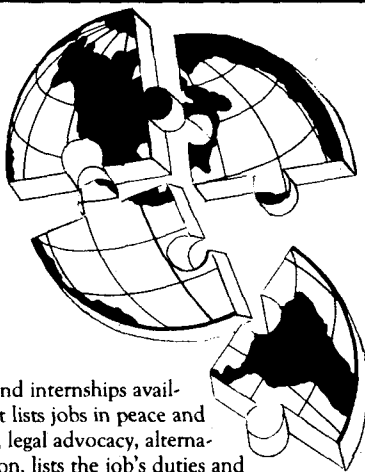
Where could this lead? Today the U.S. disposes of 75 percent of our paper, 50 percent of our aluminum and 95 percent of our organic waste. Recycling 80 percent of these materials could affect worldwide commodity prices and transform our urban economies. Scrap-based manufacturing is far less polluting and energy intensive than virgin material-based production, and it can be economical on a much smaller scale. Relatively small manufacturing enterprises could get most of their raw materials locally and serve metropolitan or regional markets. In the steel industry, mini-mills that use 100 percent scrap steel have already seized 25 percent of the national steel market and may control 50 percent by century's end.

We need garbage disposal to be considered as part of a larger economic development strategy that can create a national materials policy from the ground up. ■

Neil Seldman and David Morris work for the Institute of Local Self-Reliance in Washington, D.C.

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Doing the Nobel thing

I suppose we should be pleased that Costa Rican President Oscar Arias got the Nobel Peace Prize. The White House would like to extirpate his peace plan from human memory, so there's no doubt that in the short term the fact that the deviser of this same plan is a Nobel Laureate will help in beating back the administration's efforts to renew contra aid and to limit the scope of any peace plan to the demand that the Sandinistas relinquish power.

But in the longer perspective Arias is no beacon of progress and his country, Costa Rica, is signally dependent on U.S. economic support. Arias can as well—already, to a certain degree, has—use the “standing” afforded him by the prize to demand that the Sandinistas negotiate directly with the contra leadership, hold fresh elections, abrogate their constitution and so on.

The degree to which the U.S. media have turned this Arias plan into a document applying solely to Nicaragua, rather than to those of all five signatories, is amazing, even by normal depraved standards. The U.S. journalists and politicians now fanning out across Nicaragua to test Sandinista adherence to the plan's provisions for internal democratization and respect for human rights have shown a marked disinclination to make similar forays into El Salvador, Honduras or Guatemala.

They would not have to press such investigations with any great energy.

Inquiries into the future of a free press in El Salvador would be greeted with the news that the two main opposition papers in the country have long been closed, with the editor of one murdered and the other forced to flee the country. There are no plans to reopen them and no pressure from any of the *La Prensa* groupies to do so. Americas Watch recently reported that human rights in El Salvador fell far short of the provisions of the plan. In El Salvador the reconciliation committee (which in Nicaragua is headed by Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo) is a joke, stocked with a right-wing former president and also with a member of ARENA, the party of Roberto d'Aubuisson.

The situation in Guatemala and Honduras is just as grotesque, with peace plan provisions on refugees, human rights and internal democratization all being flouted.

It would evidently be appropriate for President Arias, weighted with his new international distinction, to draw attention to these failures and to the double standard that centers scrutiny on Nicaragua alone. Thus far he has shown a marked disinclination to put his mouth where his Nobel money is.

Footnote: At least Arias proposed a plan. His predecessor as recipient of the Peace Prize, Elie Wiesel, seems to have taken the honor as a signal to remain entirely silent on any constructive proposals for peace and justice in the Middle East.

Stop Me Before I Kill Again

At the moment when he should have been in El Salvador, Guatemala or Honduras attempting the kind of reporting suggested above, Ed Rabel was filing the following report back to *NBC Nightly News*, during the second week in October:



EnNobled Costa Rican President Oscar Arias

Rabel: “For the first time since the contras began fighting six years ago, the United States-backed guerrillas have established a foothold in Central Nicaragua. The territory in which the contras have set up semi-permanent bases is located in the hilly grasslands roughly 130 miles east of Managua. Contra fighters boast of their successes in maintaining superiority over Sandinista troops in the area.

“The people of this region, independent farmers and ranchers, have sympathy for the contras. They say the Sandinistas tried to impose Marxist policies on them and confiscate their land. Supplies clandestinely air-dropped over Nicaragua by the U.S. also enable the contras to keep their foothold. The air drops have been increased dramatically recently, some regional military experts say, because of fears the U.S. Congress may cut off aid altogether.

“Bloody fighting to maintain superiority by the contras in Central Nicaragua has left many rebel dead and wounded, but the contras say it was worth it. Their presence has forced the Sandinistas to look for peace, they say—and they don't intend to give up.”

The area in question is Chontales province, largely given over to cattle-breeding and not heavily populated. It is traditionally conservative and under Somoza was a recruiting ground for the national guard. The contras have been in the area in small numbers (150-220) for two years, so to say now, as though something sensational has occurred, that they have “established a foothold” is nonsense.

The contras in the region have never been able to mount any effective military operation, and if they were a serious threat they would be speedily overrun. They have no fixed base and have been conspicuously timid, outside risk-free slaughter of defenseless civilians. They have never managed to cut the “Rama Road,” which runs from Port Rama, where some Soviet military supplies arrive, to Managua. In two years, according to one private consultant on Cen-

tral American military affairs, they have never managed to ambush a single convoy.

Civic lessons

In one of ABC's “Space Bridges” between the U.S. and the Soviet Union the following exchange occurred on September 22.

Sen. Chic Hecht (R-NV): “We have one set of laws in America—our Constitution, which we are now celebrating our 200th year. We have had an open society for 200 years. We try to study the Soviet philosophy, Karl Marx, Frederick Engles [sic, in ABC transcript] who have embraced dialectical materialism along with Lenin, which has resulted in a closed society. Now, with Mr. Gorbachov, we find *glasnost*, which is an open society. Please explain to us—are you abandoning Karl Marx, Frederick Engles [sic]? What is your philosophy at the present time?”

Deputy Lev Tolkunov (in translation): “Marx and Engles [sic] and Vladimir [sic] Illich Lenin, they founded our state. They saw socialism as a society of developed democracy. Unfortunately, in our history, we have the prewar period, the war period, the postwar period when we were forced somewhat to pinch our democratic rights to strike a blow against German fascism, which threatened all of mankind. But right now, in developing democracy, in developing *glasnost*, we are basing ourselves fully, entirely on those indications left to us by Vladimir Illich Lenin. He stated during the last years of his life that socialism is unthinkable without the broadest possible democracy.”

Rep. Claude Pepper (D-FL): “Mr. Chairman, sensible men wonder how did the arms race between the Soviet Union and the United States ever get underway? The U.S. has not had a record of going around the world attacking people and taking their countries away from them.... Except for a little intrusion on our part during your revolution, we've never threatened your country.... I think the time has come for both of us to come under the scrutiny of common sense and get down to business about stopping this arms race and getting back to a sensible, friendly relationship....”

It's fun to listen to this kind of thing,

though sometimes I have to rush back to the works of Karl, Fred and Vladimir, to remind myself that there is a difference, indeed a fundamental contradiction, between capitalism and socialism and the Cold War is not about to be ended by a manly handshake between Gorbachov and Reagan.

Anyone wishing reassurance that the spirit of *glasnost* has not meant utter eradication of sound historical materialist principles may care to study the declaration of the Federation of Socialist Clubs, promulgated during a meeting of 50 groups in the Soviet Union on September 12 of this year, in a Moscow conference hall loaned for the occasion by the Communist Party. The declaration began with an expression of support for the “socialist model of development,” called for legal status for independent organizations and movements along with democratization of the electoral system; urged the right to put forward representatives to councils of people's deputies at any level of government without any limit on candidates' free access to the mass media; denounced all pre-censorship and censorship; called for prosecution of officials for illegal activity, independently of complaints made at the administrative level; urged democratization of the planning system; and concluded with expressions of support for ecological activism and for “revolutionary liberation and democratic movements in the capitalist world and developing countries.”

One of the organizers of this conference was a 29-year-old sociologist called Boris Kagarlitsky, once imprisoned under Brezhnev for propagating “Euro-communist views.” In the July-August issue of *New Left Review* (of whose editorial committee I am a member), Kagarlitsky wrote, “The events that have taken place in our country are important not only to us. The wave of conservatism that swept over the world in the early '80s is beginning to subside. The need for radical reform is beginning to be realized by ever wider circles in countries of every type. Socialist ideas may once again become attractive to public opinion in the West. How well the progressive forces in the USSR cope with their new role will determine more than their future.”

This kind of stuff is a welcome nutritional supplement to “space bridge” *glasnost*, which, after a while, is like being force-fed marshmallows or listening to Dr. Ruth. ■

EXPERIENCE HISTORIC NICARAGUA

From Pre-Columbus to the Peace Plan

January 2-12

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**By Mas'ud Zavarzadeh
and Donald Morton**

War of the words: the battle of (and for) English

SINCE THE EARLY '70S THERE has been much talk in American universities about the need to change literary studies, especially the study and teaching of English. These discussions have been prompted by the impact of the works of those European philosophers, intellectual historians, anthropologists and literary critics collectively known as structuralists and post-structuralists.

Initially there was strong resistance in America to these thinkers, not only because their ideas were so unfamiliar but also because they delivered them in a language unintelligible to the average American academic. Words and phrases like "aporia," "mise-en-abyme," "interpellation," "put in question," "dissemination" and "the subject" were part of a language so opaque that it appeared to parody the very idea of communication.

The most basic reaction was to claim that what these thinkers offered was fake and fraudulent, nothing more than old ideas couched in arcane jargon. For example, the humanists (as traditional literary scholars were called by their opponents, who themselves came to be named theorists) argued that "the subject" was merely a fancy term for "the individual" and that theorists were trading on a false newness by applying an unfamiliar term to a well-known idea.

For their part, the theorists took the humanists' equation of the subject with the individual as a sign of the latter's philosophical naiveté. Left-leaning theorists argued that resistance to the idea of "the subject" was not just philosophical simplicity but rather part of a hidden political agenda, a result of an unwillingness to give up the notion

of the free, enterprising, independent "individual." For politically active critics and English professors, in fact, the question of "the subject" eventually became the rallying point for showing how the traditional literature curriculum—like that of the humanities in general—prompts students to view themselves as free individuals while blocking any inquiry into the status of this freedom.

Semantic skirmishes: To outsiders, of course, all this may sound rather insignificant: the choice between “subject” and “individual” may seem like mere quibbling. Most people see education (i.e., liberal education) as a matter of turning out skillful, well-rounded and independent-minded students. Theorists, however, argue that what is seen as the goal of liberal education (the production of the well-rounded person) is in fact the cornerstone of contemporary capitalism.

In their view, capitalism works by "producing" (what Louis Althusser calls "interpellating") individuals in such a way that they think of themselves as in control of their actions, as masters of their destinies, as the source of social values—in short, as "sovereign subjects." Theorists maintain that capitalism needs people who are unaware that they are constituted by existing social arrangements (class, race, gender relations) and who instead see themselves as being the way they are "naturally."

The conflict between humanists and theorists therefore evolves around the understanding of the human person. Theorists argue

that students who have been produced by liberal education to think of themselves as free subjects will then "freely" subject themselves to the economic needs of the capitalist system and sell themselves, as the popular phrase goes, to the highest bidder. From their point of view, far from "educating" well-rounded, free individuals, liberal education is actually a process of constructing one-dimensional subjects to fit the economic needs of the ruling classes.

Text as a weapon: In this process, English departments therefore work as the agents of the capitalist economic system: they teach students to read literary works (the classics) in terms of their moral values and with attention to their stylistic features, thus evading questions about their ideological and political functions. Accordingly, in order to change English departments, a new set of questions should be raised about such fundamental issues as "the subject" (the student as a structure of cultural codings that have political implications and consequences), reading lists (the established canon of "acceptable" and "relevant" readings) and the act of reading itself.

The debate over new modes of reading and dismantling the established canon has led ultimately to a larger battle over the curriculum. In this war, which has in the past decade or so divided English departments nationwide into traditionalists and theorists, the real institutional power has been held, more or less, by liberals who occupied the political "center"—

those who, for the sake of advancing their careers, opportunistically adopt new theories to do the same old thing under new names.

Although sympathizing mainly with the traditionalists and with humanist conventions, liberals have had to acquire the theorists' vocabulary if only to update their skills and maintain their marketability. This liberal group, which constitutes the numerical majority and in a sense "runs" the universities by involvement in committee work and in the established system of awards/rewards, has grown more comfortable with theory in recent years, but is still unwilling to abandon the basic tenets of established humanities studies.

The result has been a curious re-writing of the literary studies curriculum in American universities. The curriculum has indeed "changed" in a certain sense: not only graduate students but even undergraduates in English are being taught "theory" today. Some departments and programs have even gone so far as to change their names (for example, from "Department of English" to "Department of Textual Studies"). However—and this is what disturbs many politically committed professors—in spite of this "change" everything remains the same: the basic ideology of the curriculum remains as it was and in spite of the possibilities for change offered by "theory," English department faculties continue to recycle the old values and practices with new theoretical strategies.

Curriculum as "containment":
The most visible recent examples

of the use of a "new" curriculum to contain change are to be found at elite private universities like Duke and Carnegie-Mellon, for instance, which have tried to enhance their academic prestige by revamping their traditional programs. Carnegie-Mellon's program is called "Literary and Cultural Studies." Duke's well-publicized move to transform its literary studies programs illustrates how the curriculum can be "changed" without changing the basic structure of English studies and at the same time how the idea of change can be used to conduct a public relations blitz. (Duke was recently the subject of a three-page feature article in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 27, 1987.)

In the *Chronicle* article, Frank Lentricchia, one of the academic stars at Duke, pointedly acknowledges the wide-spread expectation that if the consequences are taken seriously curricular change can be painful and disruptive to institutions. But he nevertheless claims with pride that Duke has miraculously escaped paying the price for serious change. Lentricchia is quoted as saying that in his department, where what is supposedly a revolution in English studies is taking place, there "ain't any [bloodshed]." That is not surprising since upon closer inspection it becomes clear that the changes at Duke are cosmetic reforms aimed at saving the free subject of capitalism.

It is significant that the recently hired chairman of Duke's "changed" English department, Stanley Fish, is a leading American exponent of the theoretical approach to literary studies called "reader-response criticism." According to this theory, the reader does not merely, as in the traditional view, passively extract from the text the meaning the author has put into it, but in fact puts into the text what he or she then regards as meaning.

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This theory has been enthusiastically received in the American academy because it gives new legitimacy to the traditional idea of the free, enterprising individual and endorses the popular notion of participation without ever forcing questions about the political and social consequences of what one is participating in. Rather than asking "What are we reading for?" Fish is merely interested in finding out what operations are involved in the act of reading.

Louis L'Amour as lit: Similarly, Duke's so-called revolutionary curriculum purports to undermine the traditional notion of the canon by altering the relationship between major authors, minor authors and authors completely beyond the pale. On this issue, the *Chronicle* emphasizes that another new member of the Duke faculty is working not on classic American authors like Herman Melville, but on the popular fiction of Louis L'Amour, as if the "replacement" of a popular culture author for a high culture author means in fact the "displacement" of the idea of the canon itself. All it actually suggests is that the canon is being reformed either to include previously excluded authors or that another (in this case, a popular culture) canon is being formed to parallel the traditional one.

Instead of adopting Duke's expensive approach of hiring star professors, Carnegie-Mellon has focused more directly on producing a rather fully worked-out plan foregrounding the new theoretical language and ideas. This plan's principal advocate, English Department chairman Gary Waller, has dubbed it—with evident satisfaction—"the first poststructuralist literary curriculum" in North America. What this means, however, is that students at Carnegie-Mellon will be "exposed to" a wide range of ideas drawn from the various postmodern theoretical strategies (Saussure and lin-

guistics, Eco and semiotics, Lacan and psychoanalysis, Irigaray and feminism, Derrida and deconstruction, and so forth) side-by-side with conventional survey courses and courses on such "literary" figures as Shakespeare and company.

Again, then, as at Duke, what is being offered is an updated and adjusted curriculum that includes new knowledge (theory) within the existing institutional frame, a curriculum that professionalizes theory and thus robs it of its political edge in order to ensure that business in the renovated academy will go on along the same old lines.

Conservative story: This "reformism"—changing some insignificant features in order to relegitimize the dominant structure—can be seen in many new curriculum plans. At Syracuse, for example, the "new" English curriculum reintroduces a politically oppressive form of eclectic pluralism by simply providing three levels of study: the political, the historical and the theoretical. Once again (as in the traditional curriculum), the notion is that a liberal education should produce a well-rounded individual. What better way to do so than to expose students to many modes of knowing? The more diverse your knowledge, the better-educated you are.

Syracuse's "new" curriculum is similar to many other "new" curricula in that it is part of a concerted political effort by conservatives to contain change by recycling traditional educational ideas and practices by up-dating "literary studies" as the study of "rhetoric." By reviving the concept of "rhetoric" that is basically "formalist": its main concern is with "how" discourses are produced and received without any concern with "why" they are there to begin with.

Some more "relevant" forms of "rhetorical studies" attempt to overcome the reactionary aspect of

rhetoric by posing "moral" (but not political) questions about the ways that a particular text or discourse is "legitimated" in a given moment. Yet there is a vast difference between examining how certain ideas get legitimated and asking radical questions about their "legitimacy."

In fact, by distracting the attention of students to the study of processes of legitimation, the study of "rhetoric" actually represents all existing discourses as automatically legitimate by virtue of their very existence and thus by implication as "equal." A rhetorician can be as much interested in the rhetoric of the Ku Klux Klan as in the rhetoric of imprisoned black South Africans: for the rhetorician all social phenomena are occasions for cognitive inquiries. And, of

Attempts to radicalize English curricula are often coopted by liberals who adapt new "theory" to support the institutional status quo.

course, this fits right into the dominant picture of what the academy is and should continue to be: a place where all inquiries are equally urgent.

Advocates of theory, who envisioned the radical reconstitution of the student as "subject of study," have found their study trivialized. The liberal faculty majority, who while marching today under the banner of fundamental educational innovation in almost every American university and college English department, has actually contrived

merely to trade one set of studies (authors, texts, canons) for another, purposefully leaving intact the overall institutional system for constructing student-citizens as bourgeois subjects and willing servants of the status quo.

Marx once wrote, "It is clear that the arm of criticism cannot replace the criticism of arms. Material force can only be overthrown by material force: but theory itself becomes a material force when it has seized the masses." The question for radical pedagogy, then, is how to make "theory" a material force; in other words, how to oppose both the traditional humanistic curriculum which attempts merely to "enlighten" the student and the now flourishing conservative postmodern curriculum which also attempts to "enlighten" the student but in a "new" and "different" way.

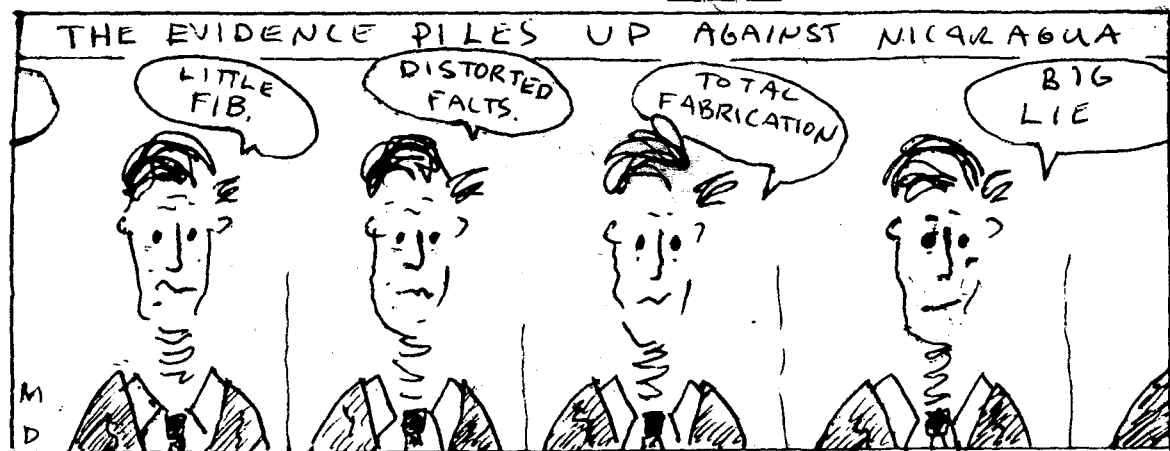
Both traditional pedagogy and the "new" conservative postmodern pedagogy are versions of what might be called the "pedagogy of pleasure," an educational program that takes the student to be a "free," enterprising individual and tries merely to enhance (make more "pleasurable") that supposed autonomy. By contrast, radical pedagogy is a pedagogy of enablement, one that attempts to turn theory not into yet another professional topic but into a "material force." To do this, one has to raise questions that are missing not only from the traditional curriculum but also from the "new" ones, for instance, the question of what kind of student do these various programs attempt to produce, a "knowledgeable," "enlightened," "well-rounded" person or a critical subject who knows that knowledge is a social product with political consequences and is therefore willing to "intervene" in the way knowledge is produced not only in the classroom, but in all other sites of culture.

Radical pedagogy teaches the student to see that his or her understanding of all of culture's texts (from philosophical treatises to popular television shows) is a result of situatedness in a complex network of gender, class and race relations and to see that reading (and meaning) changes depending on whether the reader is a male or female reader, a Hispanic or white American reader, a working-class or upper-class reader.

Such a student can then begin to make the necessary connections between how he or she reads *Great Expectations* and how he or she "reads" Nicaragua, between the supposedly "aesthetic" beauty of a Shakespeare sonnet and the purely "pragmatic" question of the plight of single mothers in the ghettos of New York City. In radical pedagogy, not only are the boundaries between texts dissolved (as conservative postmodernism advocates), but also the lines between knowledges (literature, economics, sociology, urban planning, and so on) are broken down. In this way a new transdisciplinary form of knowing emerges.

The question, then, is not, for example, that of forming an alternative canon, but the question of how any particular canon is used. One can use either Shakespeare or Dickens (as the traditional curriculum does) or Saussure and Derrida (as the "new" curriculum does) in order to legitimate the dominant social system. The radical alternative is to "read" the dominant social system and its texts against itself by finding in the folds, seams and fault-lines of its ideologies spaces in which to oppose oppressive modes of understanding and behavior. Anything less than this will be a trivialization of educational "change."

Donald Morton and Mas'ud Zavarzadeh teach in the Department of English at Syracuse University.



Unravelling Reagan's fabric of lies

Nicaragua, the Price of Intervention: Reagan's Wars Against the Sandinistas
By Peter Kornbluh
Institute for Policy Studies, 287 pp., \$8.95

By Jim Naureckas

THE IRAN-CONTRA HEARINGS' KEY image was Oliver North holding up slide after slide, each appearing blank to the TV cameras, and solemnly explaining what each proved about Sandinista atrocities.

For the Reagan right, reality is an empty screen on which meaning is projected according to the administration's ideological or pragmatic needs. Nowhere is this process more obvious than in the campaign against Nicaragua: "Calculated exaggeration, innuendo, dissimulation and outright lies became tactical weapons in a White House-sponsored effort to orchestrate public support for, or at least acquiescence to, U.S. intervention in Central America," writes Peter Kornbluh in his new book, *Nicaragua*.

gua, the Price of Intervention.

Kornbluh's book shines some light through North's blank slides. As the Nicaragua researcher at the National Security Archive, a private group that hoards hard facts against government perception managers, Kornbluh has amassed a damning record of the manipulation of public discourse by Reagan and his handlers.

Documents of deceit: Kornbluh seems to have unearthed documents that contradict every assertion made by the White House about Nicaragua—often they are

NICARAGUA

the administration's own secret documents gathered through the Freedom of Information Act. By the end of the book, Kornbluh has irrefutably demolished every justification Reagan has advanced for the contra war.

No one could believe, for example, Reagan's claim that "the United States did everything it could to show its openness toward the Sandinistas" after reading Korn-

bluh's analysis of Carter administration policy toward Nicaragua. "Some national security forces must remain to maintain order after Somoza's departure," wrote Carter's Nicaraguan ambassador Lawrence Pezzullo in a secret cable a month before the Somoza dictatorship fell. "Otherwise the vacuum we all wish to avoid will be filled by the FSLN [Sandinista Front], with all the negative consequences that would bring."

Preserving Somoza's hated *Guardia Nacional* (GN), who killed 50,000 Nicaraguans before the July 1979 rebellion, was a key priority of U.S. diplomats. Pezzullo even refused to pressure Somoza to stop his vicious urban air raids, arguing that air power was "the only effective force the GN has to combat the FSLN force." With the collapse of U.S. attempts at a "moderate" replacement for Somoza, similar to last year's maneuverings in the Philippines and Haiti, the U.S. smuggled out the *Guardia's* leadership in a plane bearing Red Cross insignia.

In 1980 Carter authorized the CIA

to begin funding anti-Sandinista labor unions, political parties and news organizations (presumably *La Prensa*). It was only a short step for Reagan to set up his "arms interdiction program" in Honduras, using the same *Guardia* leaders that Carter had rescued.

Al Haig for Nicaragua: Similarly, Kornbluh undermines the White House claim that Sandinistas are subverting their neighbors, citing among other authorities former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who announced early in the administration that there was "no hard evidence of arms shipments through Nicaragua." And the idea that Nicaragua has become a "superpower in Central American terms" is contradicted by a classified CIA assessment which found that Nicaragua's "overall military buildup is primarily defensive-oriented."

The predictability with which Reagan's statements are shown to be the exact opposite of the truth

Irrefutably demolishes every justification for Reagan's contra war.

becomes distressing. "Develop and implement plans for new exercises ...in a manner that will maintain steady pressure on the Nicaraguans," Reagan ordered the Pentagon in 1984. In two months he was denying that the maneuvers were "aimed at anyone down there." The U.S. ambassador in Managua cabled home that "the evidence fails to

demonstrate that the Sandinistas have followed a policy of anti-Semitism." Four days later Reagan was claiming that "the Sandinistas seem always to have been anti-Semitic."

Kornbluh is especially good on the U.S. economic aggression against the Sandinistas, which has cost Nicaragua an estimated \$1 billion. He cites U.S. blackmail and harassment against international lending agencies, private banks and U.S. allies that have offered aid to Nicaragua, resulting in economic stagnation that the White House cynically blames on "Sandinista policies which have consistently emphasized Marxist ideology over economic realities."

The account of Central America's militarization has been overtaken by events, as the peace process pulls apart Reagan's carefully wrought *cordon sanitaire*. But even here the book provides valuable context about how the U.S. manipulates its allies into being proxies in the contra war.

Although the book is subtitled "the price of intervention," the material cost, for the U.S., has been very low: a few covert operatives have been killed in the line of duty, and the national debt has inched up a fraction of a percentage. But Kornbluh argues that the American people have paid a price—in the weakening of democratic institutions and the corruption of public debate. Kornbluh is not optimistic that the damage to our political system will be undone: "Congressional investigations insured that evidence of wrongdoing would be exposed but not that the necessary solutions would be imposed," he writes. But his work helps lift from the Central American debate the dead weight of seven years of lies. ■

The unofficial voice of new Iranian satire

The Ayatollah and I
By Hadi Khorsandi (translated by Ehssan Javan)
Readers International, 160 pp., \$14.95

By Pat Aufderheide

LONG BEFORE IRAN'S ISLAMIC REVOLUTION, the image of Iran was swathed and veiled in the West. But the revolution seems almost destined to dust off every crude stereotype of the Oriental Other stored in our cultural memory. Hadi Khorsandi's *The Ayatollah and I*, published by intrepid Readers International—which publishes international literature illuminating human rights—is a funny, rude introduction to the sound of the unofficial Iranian voice. It's a peek under several layers of veils.

Khorsandi, who would be a kind of Iranian Art Buchwald if that

didn't get him shot, has been putting out the Persian newspaper *Asghar Agha* in London for the last eight years. His satire published in Iran used to irritate the Shah; it made Khomeini's Hezbollah party call for his head. Even in London he watches his step; Scotland Yard, as his translator (who uses a pseudonym) tells us, discovered a plot on his life in 1984. But he clearly doesn't watch his mouth. The essays in *The Ayatollah and I* are savagely funny, and also ruthlessly perceptive—not only about the callousness, sanctimony and ignorance of the current Iranian leadership but also about the pretensions and posturing of political exiles. No wonder that, although every exile political faction in London reads its own

IRAN

newsletter, everyone reads *Asghar Agha*.

The hilarious and the tragic are never far from each other in these short essays. Several fictional characters, and some real ones, tell the story. There's a schoolboy, whose naive cannily cuts through cant in laboriously scrawled exercises like "Describe Spring" and "Knowledge or Wealth, Which Is Better?" In "What Is Democracy?" he writes, "We have an uncle who says the best of all parties is the ruling party, and he himself is always a member of the ruling party, but when we grow up we would like to join the Bend-with-the-Wind Party because we can afford its membership fees more easily." Writing on agricul-

ture, he describes the success of the Revolution: before, his farmer father used to sell lottery tickets in front of the Ministry of Agriculture, while now he sells bootleg whiskey at Friday prayers.

Journalist Oriental "Ori" Fallacy fearlessly interviews leading political figures and their wives in the pages of *The Fundamentalist Woman*. Khorsandi cheerfully shreds official reputations and fundamentalist claims to moral purity. And he also pokes the egotistical journalist, who always ends up being the center of every interview. Anyone who can remember back to 1981 will enjoy the pages of Bani Sadr's diary, cannily aimed at a mass audience around the publishing corner. But you don't even need to know recent history to enjoy some of the articles, like a Dear Abby-type of confessional letter written by a 48-year-old exile who's ashamed to admit he can't figure out which political party to back. Or the news report explaining why Iraqis believe Iranian radio: "They don't know Persian."

A funny, rude introduction to the realm of Iranian satire.

Right behind the jokes, of course, is indictment: of a war that throws young bodies into the breach of military purpose; of casual and gross civil rights abuses; of a fundamentalist dogma that rapes tradition and dignity; and, not least, of empty answers from exiles. ("Let's just finish this cake before we rescue the country," one comfortable conversation ends.)

Dropping his personas, Khorsandi speaks directly to English-language readers in his introduction. "My country has been hijacked, with more than 40 million people on board," he says. Do Reagan and Gorbachov "even suppose that between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf there lies a people who want their country to be free and independent?" Iranians, he says, distinguish between "a people and their blind-hearted leaders. We ask you likewise to distinguish between the Iranian people and the regime that misleads us." This satirical collection is a healthy companion piece to the latest news from war in the Gulf. ■

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IN THE ARTS

By Pat Aufderheide

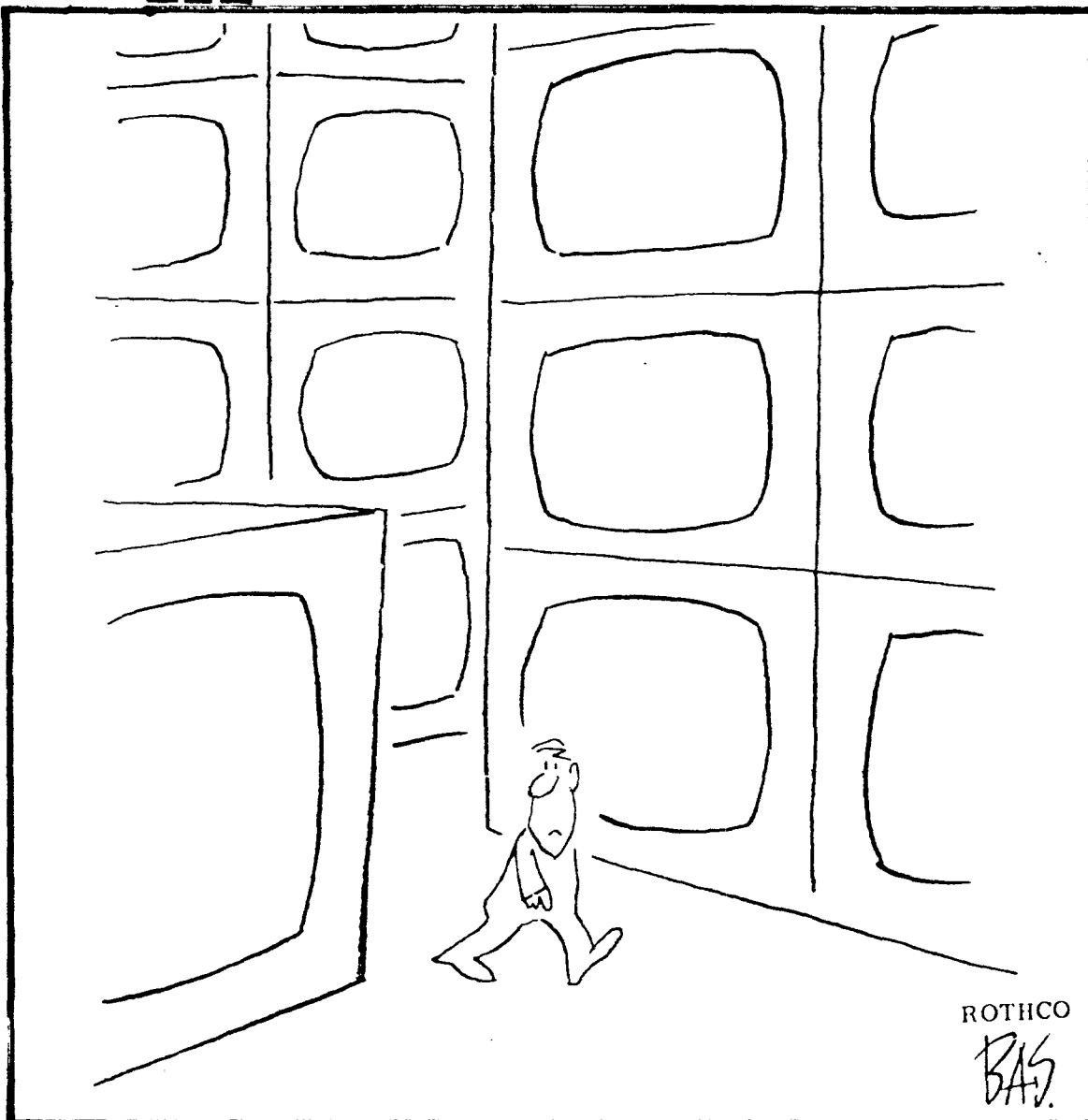
VIEWERS ARE FLEEING NETWORK TV in droves, and the news is driving executives—and not just in network TV—to Maalox in the search for audiences. In July, *Broadcasting* magazine reported that network affiliates account for little more than half—58 percent—of all viewing, down 8 percent from that time last year. In cabled homes (now more than half the homes in the U.S.), network viewership was down to 46 percent. Besides cable, people are watching independent stations, pay TV and superstations; public TV pulls away a dogged 4 percent.

Network programmers, desperate for gambits to attract distracted audiences, are searching for new formulas, with names like "war-medies" and "dramadies." They're aiming at demographic targets, trying shows pitched to anxious yuppies, like *The Days and Nights of Molly Dodd* and *thirtysomething*, while also throwing new comedy series at a young audience. They're boasting of "originality" for programming series like *The Slap Maxwell Story*, about a 50-year-old in midlife crisis, and *Tour of Duty*, a sort of *M*A*S*H* in Vietnam. All that originality and daring has to be considered within the Procrustean framework of advertiser- and ratings-driven prime-time TV, so elegantly described by Todd Gitlin in his ethnography of TV executives, *Inside Prime Time*.

The cable challenge: Meanwhile, cable programmers are pouring money into making and buying their own programming. But it's far from innovative fare. Variety shows, sitcoms, adventure series, revivals of series such as *Alfred Hitchcock Presents* (from where? this could really be spooky), professional sports, colorized movies, music-video shows—this sounds strangely like yesterday's network TV.

There are twists, of course. HBO is proud of programming "provocative" movies, such as one on Andrei Sakharov, and on its go-for-the-gut *America Undercover* documentary series. And there are ageless reruns; CBN (which before Pat Robertson got presidential used to be trumpeted as the Christian Broadcasting Network) still feeds well off *Father Knows Best*.

But in general, the competition for network viewers is not producing diversity and pluralism—the underrepresented voices, the public affairs programs, the exposés and debates and local programming—that tech wizards say are soon-to-emerge benefits of the information age. We're still dependent on Ted Turner's quixotic pulse on what's both topical and watchable, on the ragged record of public-access cable, on C-SPAN, and the cowardly lion of public TV for documentaries, public affairs and



Network TV tune-out drives new 'diversity'

the truly offbeat.

A view presented at the Telecommunications Research Policy Conference held last month in rural Virginia suggests why we don't have to hold our breath for the flowering of video diversity. Jay Blumler, who works at the University of Leeds' Centre for Communications Research and contributed to a British government study on broadcasting, and Carolyn Martin Spicer, from the University of Southern California's Annenberg School of Communications, presented an analysis of American TV from a British perspective.

The two scholars stood out in a deregulation-happy atmosphere at the conference. Their message was meticulously documented in a study of hundreds of British and U.S. TV executives: "Broadcast regulation is not necessarily an inherently oppressive force," because "other constraints may structure production and provision at least equally firmly."

Different censors: The comparison is bold. British TV is regulated not only differently but in ways that force programmers to produce more diverse and public affairs work. Channel 4 is the most startling example, since it holds its license on pain of commissioning substantial amounts of indepen-

dent programming. But channels are also regionally based, and their license renewal depends on proof of balanced schedules of quality programming and advertising control. Broadcasting councils are distanced from government (although in the Thatcher era the government has meddled to an unprecedented degree) and they have a power unimaginable in the U.S., the power of program censorship.

Some similar requirements do exist, at least in principle, in U.S. regulation. For instance, until the Reagan FCC there were tight controls on amounts of advertising (though not on placement), especially in children's programming. And in theory, meeting the requirement to serve the public interest is still a condition of license-holding for stations (although not of networks).

But the FCC's recent disemboweling of the Fairness Doctrine puts in jeopardy many regulations that specify how broadcasters meet the public interest, and the Reagan FCC also abolished the need for broadcasters to keep program logbooks, in the event anyone wanted to challenge their record. Even after a court decision requiring better record-keeping, the FCC still requires a mere quarterly list of best efforts.

Although British broadcasters

carry a dramatically different set of regulatory expectations, things are changing. Under a budget crunch, the system is being reorganized; competition for the audience and for advertising dollars is more intense; and U.S. program imports a more popular programming resort.

TELEVISION

And thus Blumler and Spicer's concerns to compare the two systems.

They found, unsurprisingly, that the single most important difference is that advertisers dictate the terms of American TV, while in Europe it's still a "tolerated visitor." Advertisers routinely perform the review-and-censor function that might be exercised by regulatory agencies in Britain.

Their terms also lead to another difference. American network programs are pitched to broad audiences, in direct competition with each other. (Gitlin and many others have pointed out that the broad pitch tends to mean that everyone gets their least-hated rather than most-liked shows, because anything somebody really likes is something somebody else won't.) In Britain, where broadcasters depend on different revenue sources, broadcasters expect to program to a minority audience at times. In the U.S. the ratings game drives toward a steady and narrow diet of entertainment programming, or what Blumler calls "cultural infanticide."

Executives on both sides of the

ocean were asked what they meant by "quality." American executives had a hard time with the question. "Hits!" was one guy's answer. Others grumbled about how hard it was to fight the "system" to get anything "worthwhile" on the air. (This is also a refrain among executives Gitlin talked to.)

British executives offered precise, if varied, answers. Their definitions included allowing local communities to be in touch with each other and the nation, and "to make people think about relationships," to produce programs that have "meanings at more than one level," and even "introducing the audience to new experiences" (the example was *Monty Python's Flying Circus*). They praised the autonomy they had in production and the freedom to try something that wasn't necessarily going to get monster ratings.

Johnny Six Pack: Finally, Blumler and Spicer found that producers were aiming not at an audience that would settle for what they least disliked, but to people who, at different times in their days or lives, watched diverse programs. The very notion of a "public TV viewers"—who's been compared favorably with "your Johnny Six Pack" by those who pitch to them and sneered at as elites by others—doesn't fit the British experience. Johnny Six Pack is the same guy, it turns out, who also sometimes wants to watch what's regarded here as "upscale" programming—if he's given a chance. The chairman of one British TV company, comparing the U.S. and British systems, put it this way: "Are 16 programs, none of which you really want to see, better than four programs, one or two of which may make your pulse beat faster?"

What Blumler and Spicer were trying to make clear was that television broadcasting is always a cultural bureaucracy. The question is not if there will be control of it, but who will run it, and how. They were suggesting that British regulation, restrictive as it seems across the ocean, diversifies the constraints on producers, and opens up opportunities, not only on the screen but in the very imagination of executives.

When Blumler and Spicer finished describing their research at the telecommunications conference, commentator Daniel Brenner—until recently the right-hand man of ex-FCC Chairman Mark ("Madman Mark") Fowler—offered his critique. He came out swinging from his deregulation corner: "I suppose this means," he said, pushing his glasses up his nose and striking a comic pose, "that we should become a monarchy."

Maybe what it means is that we should crown the real kings of television today: advertisers, with their courtiers, TV program executives.

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Main St. malaise

Continued from page 3

tracted the hint), raising fears that the fragile international accord was unstable.

A declining dollar theoretically could reduce the trade gap, but it raises fears of inflation, undermines the role of the dollar as international currency and would lead to a flight of foreigners from the dollar. If interest rates are raised to attract investment, that could trigger a deep recession and lead to widespread default of Third World loans.

Feeding on fear: Debate continues about exactly what triggered the crash. But it is clear that investors had been jumpy for many months, and once the decline started it fed on itself.

Finance professor Jamshed Gandhi of the Wharton School argues that many things could have caused a crash, and the crisis could have occurred as a crash of the dollar on international currency markets instead of a stock market crash. "It's like a giant walking on eggshells," he says. "One is going to start cracking. There's no resiliency. Resiliency means people can take information and respond with soundness.

"The underlying condition of the economy is not coherent," he continues. "Something like this [crash] will keep occurring until fundamentals are corrected. I don't think there is [a graceful way out]. I think it's precarious. This is the legacy of six years of the short-term dominating what should be the long-term view. You can only brush things under the carpet so long. Eventually the carpet develops lumps—or begins to rot."

Even last week's partial recovery in stock prices does not make the underlying instabil-

ity stable. Without a huge reversal in the U.S. balance of payments into a surplus for several years, the debts accumulated recently cannot be repaid. That can be accomplished only with a commensurately massive increase in worldwide demand. Unfortunately, many economists think it also requires a painful reduction in the U.S. standard of living, as much as 8 to 9 percent, four times the decline of the 1981-82 recession, according to Thurow.

One corollary of this fundamentally flawed U.S. and world economy is that the U.S. no longer rules the roost. The decline of U.S. hegemony began in the early '70s as the country was losing the Vietnam War, the dollar was no longer backed by gold and the U.S. dominance in manufacturing fizzled.

Two important aspects of that decline played a role in the stock crash. First, the U.S. has lost control of both its economy and its currency. The chairman of the Federal Reserve Board is at the mercy of international currency markets. And the federal deficit has grown much more dangerous: no longer is nearly all the money owed to ourselves. When it was, the government could easily print more money or increase taxes to cover the debt if need be. But now a critical portion is owed to foreigners, who don't want funny money.

Second, no one country can regulate the world economy any longer. Since there is also no international body with the sovereign power to play the role wealth and military strength once gave to Britain and then to the U.S., and no other single country is willing or able to replace the U.S., some kind of international cooperation is essential among the major capitalist powers. That

means a partial loss of autonomous control over the U.S. economy.

But international cooperation remains frail because politicians must respond to domestic political pressures, even if multinational corporations increasingly can ignore them as they make global shifts in manufacturing. The appearance of a breakdown in that global cooperation in the ultimately futile defense of the current exchange rates helped trigger the stock crash.

The tax dilemma: French economic historian Jacques Attali, an adviser to President François Mitterrand, notes that raising taxes to reduce the troublesome federal deficit now would only hasten and deepen a recession, which in turn would increase the deficit and "soon there will be a \$3 trillion rather than a \$1 trillion problem to deal with." Writing in the current *New Perspectives Quarterly*, Attali observes, "With these kinds of worsening dilemmas, some American presidential candidate is sure to point out that what the U.S. spends for the defense of Japan and Europe is roughly equivalent to the \$150 billion federal deficit. Deleting those defense allowances, the candidate might suggest, would bring the budget back into balance and allow America to respond to its own pressing needs."

Such a withdrawal would hasten an accommodation of Western European countries, especially Germany, with the Soviet bloc. But some in Western Europe fear a reunited Germany. In Asia a withdrawal would boost Japan's influence in a new East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, reviving in a more sophisticated form its earlier imperial ambitions. And it would strengthen the hand of leftist parties or insurgencies in many

parts of the world. Overall it would pose the alternatives of destabilized competition and conflict or a more cooperative worldwide economic order.

The stock market crash is likely a harbinger of recession, but not a 1929-style trigger of depression, according to most economists. In 1987 relatively stable government spending makes up a bigger part of the economy. There also are income safety nets and regulatory and insurance protections of financial institutions. Some Keynesian lessons have been learned.

The day after the crash Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan guaranteed liquidity and an easier monetary policy as needed, quite the opposite of Federal Reserve policy after 1929. But, Hoover-like, many Democrats and Republicans insist on balancing the budget right away. The problem is that Reagan's failed supply-side tax and budget policies created a structural deficit—that is, policies that would not produce a balanced budget even with full employment. So a much larger budget deficit will be needed to counter a recession.

The means of adjustment available for the past few decades have been weakened, and the problems that have been papered over have grown more acute. Politically, the opportunity is ripe to respond with a more cooperative world economic order and domestically with a more democratic, innovative economy that stresses education, research, technological sophistication, social accountability of capital, job security, workplace democracy and equality.

"Now the Democrats can run on the failure of Reaganomics," Minsky says. "But you can't beat something with nothing." □

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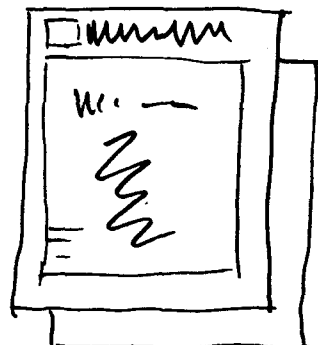
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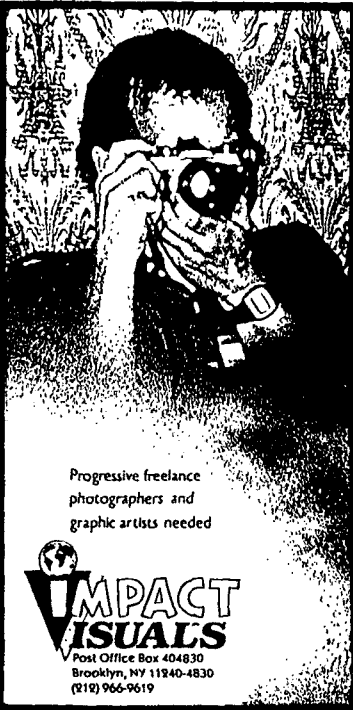
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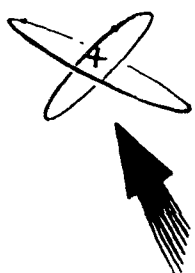
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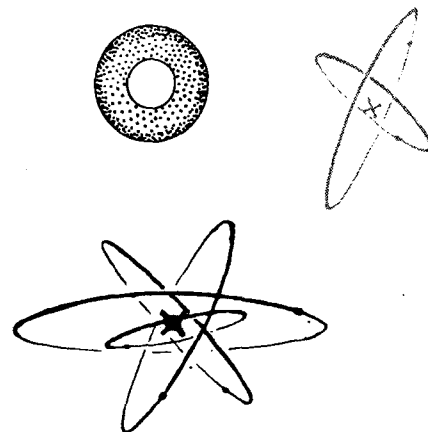
STEPPING UP TO THE LECTERN TO PRESENT this year's Karen Silkwood Whistle-blowers Award, Joanne Woodward recalled that "truth is the daughter of time." To the spry 81-year-old British epidemiologist who stepped up to receive it, the Greek proverb was well-suited. The recent awards dinner, part of a 10-day international conference in New



Alice Stewart led the '50s fight against dangerous medical X-rays, and challenged the nuclear establishment again in the '70s with solid research showing that all "acceptable" levels are too high—by a factor of 10.



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York on radiation victims, honored Alice Stewart for a lifetime of independent scientific research despite the obstacles of established opinion.

Stewart's unlikely apostate medical career began at Oxford in the 1950s. The medical X-ray was by then a mainstay of medical diagnosis; the great boon of preventive medicine. Physicians could easily, instantly monitor teeth, lungs, heart and, of course, fetus. Indeed, wholesale X-ray programs were instituted nationwide for children and pregnant women. And then Stewart dropped the bombshell.

Those X-rays of pregnant women, her Oxford Childhood Cancer Study found in 1955, were killing people. In fact, even a dose equivalent to background radiation could double a fetus' chances of childhood cancer. Aghast, the medical community around the world initially condemned her work. Yet the evidence was undeniable, and eventually her warnings were incorporated into medical practice. Karl Morgan, the eminent physicist who was chairman of the International Commission on Radiological Protection when the study was released, commented at the awards dinner that the study is responsible for "saving tens of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands of lives throughout the world."

**Tackling two establishments:** The Oxford Child Cancer Study was perhaps the first major setback to Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace program, the first rupture in the dream of a nuclear-powered and protected world. Less than 20 years later, however, Stewart would again devastate the medical community and an entrenched nuclear power and weapons industry. In the largest controlled epidemiological study ever conducted, Stewart, together with her two colleagues Drs. Thomas Mancuso and George Kneale, found that all current official radiation standards are at least 10 times too weak. The conclusion, however, was and still is completely unacceptable to the nuclear establishment. A 10-fold reduction would bankrupt the nuclear power industry and incapacitate the Department of Energy's

(DOE) ability to produce nuclear weapons.

It wasn't surprising, then, when the DOE, which sponsored the study, cut funding, confiscated data, fired the researchers and launched virulent character assassinations. "They were fired because they told the truth," charged Bob Alvarez of the Environmental Policy Institute, in the dinner's opening remarks. A congressional investigation in 1977 confirmed as much.

Eventually the Stewart team published its findings in the *Journal of Health Physics*. Publication, however, would bring with it yet another more formidable political casualty. His 29 years as chief scientist with first the Atomic Energy Commission and then the DOE notwithstanding, Karl Morgan, as editor of *Health Physics*, soon found himself ostracized and discredited. The Health Physics Society, which he helped found, quickly abandoned him.

"Publication forced [the government] to concede that cancer increased [at the Hanford plutonium processing center]," Morgan noted last week, "but that they didn't know what caused it. We haven't won, but the red flag has been raised."

The significance of the DOE study for Stewart today goes well beyond the contention of lax radiation standards. She feels that the data, which she continues to analyze, is ominous for all. And so when Stewart rose to accept her award she spoke not of the past but of the future.

"We are all radiation victims," Stewart began, "but we are also radiation survivors. Yes, there are the uranium miners, the Marshall Islanders, the Japanese and so on, but there is also nuclear weapons production, nuclear energy and medical X-rays. The current path, in the absence of war or accidents could be worse [for mankind] than the 'big bang.'"

Stewart is echoing what geneticist and Nobel Laureate Hermann Muller suggested 30 years ago: The accumulation of slight genetic damage through the controlled use of radiation over generations may be more pernicious than any one big radiation release. But whereas Muller was able only to theorize, Stewart says her DOE study is able to demonstrate.

The bitter experience of the last decade has convinced her that "change will not come from direct confrontation with the political establishment, but by convincing the medical profession." And it is there that she has focused her activity.

Whether Alice Stewart's current "truth" is the daughter of time remains to be seen. What is clear, however, is that through her courage, scientific integrity and, as the award itself states, "the endurance of personal hardship," she has already contributed prodigiously to the welfare of humanity, and has defied the odds in doing so.

**Brian Jacobs** is a New York-based writer who specializes in environmental issues.